OLIVER CROMWELL.

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THE

BRITISH PLUTARCH,

CONTAINING

THE LIVES

OF THE MOST EMINENT

STATESMEN, PATRIOTS, DIVINES,
WARRIORS, PHILOSOPHERS,
POETS, AND ARTISTS,

OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND, FROM THE A
CESSION OF HENRY VIII. TO THE PRESENT TIM
INCLUDING A COMPENDIOUS VIEW OF THE HI
TORY OF ENGLAND, DURING THAT PERIOD.

A NEW EDITION,

CORRECTED AND CONSIDERABLY ENLARGED.

IN EIGHT VOLUMES.

VOLUME SECOND.

PERTH:

PRINTED BY R. MORISON JUNIOR,
FOR R. MORISON & SON, BOOKSELLERS.

M,DCC,XCV.

BRITISH MUSEUM

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THE

THE BRITISH PLUTARCH.

THE LIFE OF

ROGER ASCHAM.

[A. D. 1515, to 1568.]

WE are now entering upon one of the moſt ſplendid periods of the Engliſh hiſtory. It was in the year 1558 that queen Elizabeth aſcended the throne; ſhe was endowed with great talents for government; and ſhe happily found herſelf ſurrounded by men of diſtinguiſhed eminence, equally qualified to ſerve their country in every public department of the church and ſtate.

The ſeeds of true piety, of ſound learning, and of civil liberty, which had been ſown at the Reformation, and had eſcaped the cruel ravages of Popiſh bigotry during the turbulent reign of Mary, now produced a plentiful harveſt of illuſtrious Engliſhmen, many of whom were wandering in exile, and ſuffering all the inconveniencies of obſcurity and indigence, till this happy revolution reſtored them to their country and their friends.

Of theſe, as they contributed to lay the foundation of Elizabeth's future glory, conciſe memoirs muſt be given, before we bring upon the carpet a general review of the important national tranſactions of this long

and proſperous reign, not leſs celebrated by foreign, than by Britiſh hiſtorians.

And the firſt on the liſt, who merits our garteful remembrance, for the principal ſhare he had in forming the mind, and improving the underſtanding of our renowned queen, is ROGER ASCHAM, the ſon of John Aſcham, ſteward to the ancient and noble family of Scroop. He was born at Kirkby-Wiſke, near Northallerton in Yorkſhire, about the year 1515; and, in his early youth, was taken into the family of the Wingfields, by Sir Anthony Wingfield, who became his patron, and finding in him an apt diſpoſition for literary attainments, he ſent him in the year 1530 to St John's college, Cambridge, at the critical juncture when the Greek language began to be taught without oppoſition, in our univerſities. The doctrines of Luther, promulgated and circulated through all parts of Europe, by means of the rapid progreſs of the art of printing, had diffuſed a general inclination throughout the republic of letters, to ſtudy the points in controverſy between the Romiſh church, and the celebrated reformer, which could beſt be done by attaining a competent knowledge of Greek; and our young ſtudent being one of thoſe whoſe mind was fired with generous emulation, applied himſelf ſo aſſiduouſly to this branch of learning, that he ſoon became ſo great a proficient, as to be able to read lectures, and to teach other youth, who were deſirous of inſtruction. "To teach, or to learn, was at this æra the buſineſs and the pleaſure of the academical life;" and young Aſcham had the happineſs to aſſociate with men of uncommon genius, and of ſimilar diſpoſitions with himſelf. Sir John Cheke, who was preceptor to Edward VI. and died in the reign of Mary, of grief, at having recanted his profeſſion of the reformed religion, was his rival and friend. This gentleman, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Smith, ſecretary of ſtate in the reigns of Edward VI. and Elizabeth, had introduced a more

juſt

juſt prooounciation of the Greek tongue than had before prevailed, which Aſcham at firſt oppoſed, till being convinced that they were in the right, he finally adopted and recommended it in his public lectures; a circumſtance which ſerved to ſtrengthen the ſocial intimacy that had ſubſiſted between the three ſtudents. Mr Aſcham likewiſe gained the approbation of Dr Metcalf, the maſter of his college, who, having the intereſt of learning greatly at heart, recommended him to a fellowſhip in 1534, when he was but eighteen years of age. At the ſame time, Pember, a perſon of great eminence in the univerſity, and a zealous promoter of the ſtudy of the Greek language, took him under his protection, and increaſed his reputation, not only by applauding his public lectures, but by recommending the young gentlemen of his acquaintance to attend Mr Aſcham at his chambers, to hear the Greek authors read and explained by him. By the advice of this gentleman, Mr Aſcham, as a relaxation from ſtudy, learned to play on muſical inſtruments, and to write a very fine hand, an accompliſhment then growing into repute; and he excelled in it, which contributed not a little to his future ſucceſs in life.

In 1536 he took the degree of maſter of arts, and ſoon after, he was appointed, by the univerſity, teacher of the Greek language in the public ſchools, for which he had a genteel ſalary. He likewiſe commenced tutor, and had ſeveral young ſtudents of rank under his care for other branches of education; ſome of whom proved eminent ſcholars, particularly William Grindal, recommended by Sir John Cheke to be maſter of languages to the princeſs Elizabeth.

The reputation of Mr Aſcham, as a man of extenſive learning, was ſo firmly eſtabliſhed in the univerſity, that he was elected to the honourable office of public orator, and all the univerſity letters were compoſed by him; his ſkill in the Latin language, and his fine writing, which he uſed to embelliſh with drawings,

having recommended him to theſe employments. But in all ages, and in every country, conſpicuous merit, while it meets with its due reward from the liberal mind, will always be expoſed to the hatred of the ſelfiſh and envious. It is no wonder, therefore, that Mr Aſcham would find himſelf attacked by his enemies, for indulging himſelf in a manly exerciſe at his leiſure hours. He was particularly fond of archery, and this being an amuſement better ſuited to the ſoldier than the ſcholar, he was freely cenſured for beſtowing his time on it, which gave birth to a vindication of himſelf, in an excellent and learned treatiſe, intituled "TOXOPHILUS, or, *the ſchole or partitions* of ſhooting." He dedicated this tract to Henry VIII. who was ſo well pleaſed with it, that he allowed him an annual penſion of ten pounds, a ſum which has been ſuppoſed to be equal to one hundred pounds at preſent. With this penſion, and his other appointments in the univerſity, it appears he had a very comfortable income, beſides gratuities for teaching perſons of the firſt diſtinction to write, particularly prince Edward, the princeſs Elizabeth, and the two brothers, Henry and Charles Brandon, dukes of Suffolk.

Upon the acceſſion of Edward VI. Mr Aſcham's penſion was renewed, and he was deſired to continue at Cambridge, to promote the cauſe of the Reformation, in conjunction with his learned friend Bucer, the celebrated German divine, who had been invited over by the univerſity, to fill the chair of divinity profeſſor. But the death of Grindal brought him to court, to attend the princeſs Elizabeth, whoſe ſtudies he directed for two years, by her own appointment; and, in this time, ſhe acquired a conſiderable knowledge of the beſt Greek and Latin authors, by reading them familiarly with Mr Aſcham. This pleaſing taſk performed, he returned to his former ſtation at the univerſity; and in 1550, being upon a viſit in Yorkſhire, he received intelligence that he was appointed ſecretary to Sir

Sir Richard Morisine, who was preparing to set out on an embassy to Charles V. emperor of Germany. This promotion obliged him to proceed directly to London, but in his journey he visited Lady Jane Grey, at her father's house at Broad-gate in Leicestershire. He found her reading the Phœdo of Plato in Greek; and he discovered such an uncommon share of learning and good sense in her conversation, that he mentions her in his works, as the wonder of her sex.

Mr Ascham attended the ambassador to Germany, and remained with him three years, during which time he cultivated the friendship of the learned in that country, and applied himself to the study of politics, which made him very useful to Sir Richard, whom he assisted in his private studies, and in the public business of his embassy. Yet neither the concerns of his station, nor his assiduity in reading the Greek authors with the ambassador, prevented his keeping up a correspondence with his friends at Cambridge, to whom he wrote several letters, which are still preserved with his other works, and shew him to have been an accurate observer of men and manners; but his abilities as a political writer likewise appeared, in a curious treatise which he wrote, while he was on an excursion to Italy. It is intituled "A report and discourse of the affairs and state of Germany," and is addressed in the form of a letter to his friend, Mr John Astley, to whom he gives the clearest account of any writer of those times, of the motives which induced the emperor to resign his crown to his son, and retire from the world. It contains also a great number of historical and political anecdotes and reflections of a very interesting nature.

While he was thus agreeably employed, his friends at home procured him the post of Latin secretary to the king; but before he could return to take possession of his new dignity, he received the melancholy news of the death of his royal master, by which fatal

event he not only loſt his place and penſion, but ſeemed to have loſt every proſpect of future preferment. However, contrary to his expectations, being protected by lord Paget, he was raiſed to the ſame poſt under queen Mary, and ſuch was his diligence and diſpatch, that it is ſaid, he compoſed and tranſcribed, in three days, no leſs than forty ſeven Latin letters to princes and other foreigners of diſtinction, particularly to the cardinals, on the ſubject of electing cardinal Pole to the papal chair. He was greatly careſſed by the cardinal on account of his literary talents; and though Pole was himſelf particularly eminent for his ſkill in Latin, he yet thought ſo highly of Aſcham's ſtyle, that he employed him to tranſlate into Latin the ſpeech which he made to the parliament when he reconciled the kingdom to the ſee of Rome; and our author's tranſlation was ſent to Rome, where it was greatly admired, for the purity of the diction.

In 1554, Mr Aſcham reſigned his fellowſhip, and married Mrs Margaret Howe, a young lady of good family, with whom he had ſome fortune; and though he always made open profeſſion of the reformed religion, he had the good fortune to continue unmoleſted, during the remainder of the reign of Mary.

Upon the acceſſion of Elizabeth, his royal pupil, he was ſent for to court, continued in his ſtation of Latin ſecretary, and allowed the ſame ſalary as in the late reign, which was only twenty pounds *per annum*; and though he was admitted to a degree of familiarity with the queen, ſometimes aſſiſting her in her private ſtudies, and at others partaking of her diverſions, ſhe never made any addition to his fortune, except a prebend in the cathedral of York, which was beſtowed on him in 1559. This inconſiderable preferment was ſo inadequate to his ſervices, and to the rank he held at court in the reign of Edward VI. that it has been thought extraordinary, that he ſhould not have received more ſubſtantial favours from the queen. But E-

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lizabeth was not naturally bountiful; and Aſcham, though he often felt the want of money, ſeems not to have been well verſed in thoſe arts, by which court favours are obtained. He was alſo deficient in œconomy; and Camden tells us, that he impaired his fortune by a love of dice and cock-fighting. "But, however he might fail in his œconomy," ſays Dr Johnſon, "it were indecent to treat with wanton levity the memory of a man, who ſhared his frailties with all, but whoſe learning or virtues few can attain, and by whoſe excellencies many may be improved, while himſelf only ſuffered by his faults."

In 1563, he compoſed his celebrated treatiſe, intituled "The SCHOOL-MASTER," which he undertook at the requeſt of Sir Richard Sackville; but this work was not publiſhed till after his death.

From this time, to the year 1568, we have no account of any exertion of his literary talents; and it appears, that his bad ſtate of health obliged him to forbear all cloſe application to ſtudy, except in the morning. Yet, as a laſt effort, he attempted to compoſe a poem this year, to be preſented to the queen on the anniverſary of her acceſſion; but his diſtemper, which was a conſumption, growing worſe by this attempt, and depriving him of reſt, he was obliged to decline it, and prepare to meet his approaching end, which he did with pious fortitude and reſignation. He died on the 30th of December, 1568, and was interred in St Sepulchre's church, London, in the moſt private manner, agreeably to his own direction. Being only in the fifty-third year of his age, his death was greatly lamented by the queen, and by all his contemporaries in the literary world, who juſtly conſidered it as a public loſs, eſteeming him one of the moſt learned men of the age, and one of the greateſt improvers of his native language.

*** *Authorities.* Graunt's Oration in honour of Aſcham, prefixed to his Epiſtles. Life of Aſcham, written

written by Dr Johnſon, prefixed to Mr Bennet's edition of Aſcham's Engliſh works, publiſhed in 4to. in 1761.

THE LIFE OF

JOHN JEWEL,

BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

[A. D. 1522, to 1571.]

THIS eminent divine, and zealous champion for the Proteſtant cauſe, was a deſcendant of an ancient family in Devonſhire, and was born at the village of Buden, in that county, in 1522. When he was ſeven years of age, he was inſtructed in the rudiments of grammar learning by his maternal uncle, Mr John Bellamy, rector of Hamton. He was afterwards ſent to ſchool at Branton, whence he was removed to South molton, and from thence to Barnſtaple. Before he was fourteen years of age, he was ſent to the univerſity of Oxford, and placed in Merton college, under the tuition of Peter Burrey, a man of inconſiderable learning, and no great friend to the Reformation. But he was afterwards committed to the care of Mr John Parkhurſt, fellow of the ſame college, who was a learned man, and a zealous Proteſtant. Under this preceptor, who was afterwards biſhop of Norwich, young Jewel was initiated in the principles of the reformed religion, and made a conſiderable progreſs in his academical ſtudies.

In 1539, he removed to Corpus Chriſti college, of which he was elected a ſcholar; and the following year, he was admitted to the degree of batchelor of arts, after which, he applied himſelf with uncommon aſſiduity

ty to theological learning; accuſtoming himſelf to riſe at four in the morning, and to continue at his books till ten at night, ſo that it was abſolutely neceſſary to remind him of the hours of refreſhment. By this indefatigable induſtry, he acquired an amazing fund of knowledge, but at the expence of his health, for in conſequence of a cold, he contracted a lameneſs which became incurable.

Thus qualified, Mr Jewel commenced tutor, and greatly contributed to promote the Reformation, by educating his pupils privately in the doctrines of the Proteſtant religion. He was likewiſe choſen profeſſor of rhetoric in his college, which office he held with diſtinguiſhed honour ſeven years; and his lectures were ſo much admired, and followed, that the fame of them brought his old preceptor Mr Parkhurſt from his country retirement to attend them, who was ſo highly pleaſed, that he not only beſtowed the greateſt encomiums on his abilities, but took upon himſelf the charge of his commencement as maſter of arts. In his moral character, he was the example of his college, inſomuch that the dean, who was a rigid Papiſt, uſed to ſay to him, "I ſhould love thee, Jewel, if thou wert not a Zuinglian. In thy faith, I hold thee to be an heretic, but ſurely, in thy life, thou art an angel."

On the acceſſion of Edward VI. Mr Jewel threw off the veil of ſecrecy; made a public declaration of his religious opinions; entered into cloſe friendſhip with Peter Martyr, the divinity profeſſor of the univerſity, and took all opportunities to promote the Reformation. In 1550, he took the degree of batchelor in divinity, and upon this occaſion, he preached an excellent Latin ſermon. About this time he was preſented to the rectory of Sunningwell, in Berkſhire, the income of which was but ſmall; but though his lameneſs made walking painful to him, he never neglected the duty, but went to his church on foot every other Sunday to preach and to catechiſe.

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The result of Mr Jewel's indefatigable zeal in promoting the Reformation, during the reign of Edward, was a virulent profecution inftantly fet on foot againft him by the Papifts, when Mary came to the crown. The fellows of his own college began it, by expelling him for herefy, before the queen was well feated on the throne, or any public orders iffued for reftoring the old religion. But the univerfity at the fame time, having the higheft opinion of his literary abilities, employed him to compofe their congratulatory addrefs upon the queen's acceffion, and appointed him their orator. It is furmifed, however, that this diftinguifhed honour was intended to enfnare him, by rendering him odious to his own party if he accepted it, or by provoking the Roman Catholics if he refufed it. Admitting that fuch was the defign of his enemies, they muft have been greatly mortified; for the addrefs was drawn up by him with fuch dexterity, that it gave offence to neither party; it was at once refpectful and guarded; it met with the approbation of Trefham the vice-chancellor, and the heads of the colleges, and was favourably received by the queen.

Mr Jewel did not quit the univerfity when he was expelled his own college, but withdrew to broad-gate-hall, now Pembroke college, where he continued his lectures, and attended his pupils as ufual. But being required foon after, upon the re-eftablifhment of Popery, to fubfcribe to the Popifh tenets, his life being threatened if he refufed, he outwardly complied, but as it was well known that his fignature was compulfive, Dr Martial, dean of Chrift-church, alledged that his fubfcription was infincere, and, therefore, he refolved to fecure him, that he might be clofely examined by Bonner the grand inquifitor. Mr Jewel receiving private intelligence of his defign, left Oxford the very night that Martial fent for him, and took a bye-road for London. He purfued his journey on foot, till he was quite exhaufted, and obliged to lie down on the

the ground. In this deplorable ſituation, totally incapable of proceeding any farther, he was providentially found by Auguſtine Bernher, a Swiſs, who had been in the ſervice of biſhop Latimer, and was now a divine. This gentleman procured him a horſe, and conducted him to the houſe of lady Anne Warcup, by whom he was hoſpitably entertained for ſome time, and then privately accompanied in ſafety to the capital. Here he was obliged to uſe the greateſt precaution, for incredible pains were taken to diſcover him by Bonner's emiſſaries, which obliged him to change his lodgings frequently in the night. At length his eſcape from England was happily effected, by the care of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, his particular friend, who provided him a veſſel, and gave him money for his ſupport; and of Giles Lawrance, a fellow collegian, who lived near the Tower, and conveyed him on board.

As ſoon as he landed upon the continent, he proceeded directly to Frankfort, where he arrived in 1554, and immediately made a public proteſtation of his ſincere contrition, for the ſubſcription he had made to the Romiſh faith. Peter Martyr had left England upon the firſt notice of the death of Edward VI. and now reſided at Straſburgh; Mr Jewel, therefore, accepted the invitation of his old friend, and went to reſide with him. Peter Martyr had converted his houſe into a kind of college for learned men, and he made Mr Jewel his deputy; he likewiſe aſſiſted him in compoſing his theological lectures, and accompanied him to Zurich; and it was probably from this place that Mr Jewel made an excurſion to Padua, where he commenced a friendſhip with Signior Scipio, a noble Venetian, to whom he afterwards addreſſed his epiſtle relative to the council of Trent.

When the joyful news of queen Elizabeth's peaceful acceſſion rendered his return to England not only ſafe, but eligible, he joined ſeveral other Proteſtant exiles,

iles, who were all equally anxious to be reſtored to their native country, and embarked for London the beginning of the year 1559. The fortunate exiles (for ſuch they may be called who eſcaped the horrors of the laſt reign) were all graciouſly received by our Proteſtant queen, and many of thoſe who were moſt eminent for their piety and learning, among the clergy, were ſoon provided for in the church. Mr Jewel, in particular, was put into the liſt of the ſixteen divines, who were appointed to hold a public diſputation againſt the Papiſts in Weſtminſter Abbey, on the 31ſt of March, 1559. In July of the ſame year, he was conſtituted one of the viſitors of the dioceſes in the weſt of England, who were enjoined to purge them of Popery, and in January 1560, he was promoted to the ſee of Saliſbury.

Certain eccleſiaſtical habits were enjoined by authority, about this time, to be worn by the different orders of the clergy of the church of England, which occaſioned a warm controverſy; and it appears that our new prelate, though he thought proper to comply with the orders iſſued by his ſovereign, by no means approved of theſe veſtments; for he complained of them in his letters to his friends upon the continent, as the relics of Popiſh ſuperſtition. He likewiſe objected to the crucifix being retained in the queen's chapel, conſidering it the light of worldly policy. Soon after his conſecration, he gave a public challenge in a ſermon preached at St Paul's Croſs, to all Roman Catholics, whether natives or foreigners, to produce a ſingle evidence, either from the fathers, or from any other writers who flouriſhed in the ſix firſt centuries of the Chriſtian æra, in favour of any one of the articles of the church of Rome; and two years after, when he found no convincing anſwer was likely to be made to this open appeal to the public, he publiſhed his famous apology for, or rather defence of the church of England.

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The advocates for the Romiſh religion, however, were not idle, either at home or abroad. The deprived dean of St Paul's, Dr Cole, commenced an epiſtolary controverſy with our prelate, upon the ſubject of his ſermon, but railing inſtead of argument was Cole's talent, which the reader will recollect in his conduct to archbiſhop Cranmer. The biſhop's challenge was publiſhed at London in 1560; and four years afterwards, John Raſtal, a Jeſuit, publiſhed at Antwerp, what he ſtyled, "A confutation of Jewel's ſermon." The ſame year Thomas Dorman publiſhed, at the ſame place, "A proof of certain articles of religion denied by Mr Jewel." Raſtal was anſwered by William Fulke, and Dorman by Alexander Nowell, a brother exile with Jewel, who had been rewarded for his merit and ſufferings with the deanery of St Paul's. But the only opponent, whoſe work out-lived the controverſy, was Thomas Harding of Louvain. This author publiſhed an anſwer to Mr Jewel's challenge in 1564, a quarto volume; a full refutation of which was publiſhed by the biſhop in folio, in 1565. It is intituled, "A reply to Mr Harding's anſwer." His antagoniſt printed two rejoinders, and thus ended the controverſy. By the peruſal of the biſhop's work, in which all the arguments in Harding's anſwer are candidly ſtated, the unbiaſſed reader will be able to determine with whom the victory manifeſtly remains.

Our prelate's apology for the church of England, and his reply to Harding, were tranſlated into all the modern languages of Europe, and into Greek, ſo that his works converted many thouſands to the Proteſtant religion, who could not have the benefit of his perſonal inſtructions. In reward for theſe eminent ſervices, the univerſity of Oxford conferred on him the honorary degree of doctor in divinity, in 1565. The following year, biſhop Jewel preſided at the divinity diſputations held at this univerſity, in preſence of the queen. His public conduct in his dioceſe, likewiſe procured

him the veneration and eſteem of all good men. By paying a particular attention to the proceedings of his chancellor and archdeacons, by preſiding frequently in his conſiſtory court, and by inſpecting the lives of the private clergy, he produced a great reformation, and delivered the people from the ſhameful extortions of the ſtewards, and the inferior officers of the eccleſiaſtical court. His humane concern for the welfare of the poor, was extended alſo to the civil juriſdiction; for as he was in the commiſſion of the peace, he frequently ſat on the bench with the juſtices, and corrected many abuſes in the exerciſe of that office; and acting in the ſame capacity at his epiſcopal ſeat (for biſhops at that time reſided on their dioceſes, except they were ſummoned to court, or to attend the parliament) he compoſed the petty quarrels ariſing among neighbours, and prevented vexatious lawſuits.

But his conſtant unwearied application to ſo many pious and important concerns, added to his fondneſs for ſtudy, and the little inclination he had for any recreative amuſements, deſtroyed his health; yet no intreaties or perſuaſions of his friends could induce him to alter his uſual hours, or to remit his inceſſant labour. He ſtill continued his practice, of riſing about four in the morning; at five, he called his family to prayers; at ſix, he attended public worſhip in his cathedral; the remainder of the morning was paſſed in his ſtudy; the afternoon was taken up in public audiences. About nine in the evening, he called his ſervants to an account, examining how they had paſſed their time; and then went to prayers with his family. From this time to midnight he withdrew to his ſtudy, and then he went to bed; but generally one of his chaplains read to him till he fell aſleep. A life ſo watchful and laborious, could not fail of bringing on a decline, but when a viſible alteration was obſerved, all the anſwer he gave to the friendly hints thrown out upon this melancholy ſubject was, "A biſhop ſhould die

die preaching." And his words were very nearly fulfilled to the letter: for a ſhort time before his death, having promiſed to preach at ſome church in Wiltſhire, he was met on the road by a gentleman, who perceiving by his looks that he was very ill, adviſed him to return home, telling him, that the people had better loſe one ſermon, than be totally deprived of ſuch a preacher. But the biſhop continued his journey, and preached his laſt ſermon, but with great difficulty, for upon his return he grew worſe, and died in a few days, in September 1571, at Monkton Farley, in his own dioceſe. He was buried in the choir of Saliſbury cathedral.

It is almoſt needleſs to obſerve, after the character already given of this primitive biſhop, that his death was univerſally lamented; much leſs can we attempt any addition to it; we ſhall therefore only mention, that he was remarkable for an uncommon memory, which he improved by art. It is aſſerted, by the firſt writer of his life, Dr Lawrence Humphrey, that he taught this art to Dr Parkhurſt his old tutor, while they were in exile at Zurich, and enabled him in the ſpace of twenty-eight days, with only one hour's application each day, to repeat the whole Goſpel of St Matthew, and upon naming any ſeparate verſe, to recite the preceding and ſubſequent verſes. As to his own ſermons they were chiefly extempore, from heads put down in writing, on which he uſed to meditate while the bell was ringing to ſummon him to church. Several experiments were likewiſe made of the ſtrength of his memory, which are related at large by the ſame writer; but it is of much more conſequence for us to know, that his theological and polemical works rendered his name celebrated all over Europe; and that all his Engliſh works, ſtill held in eſteem by divines, were publiſhed together in folio, at London, in 1609.

*** *Authorities.* Wood's Athen. and Hiſt. and Antiq. of Oxford. Humphrey, and Featly's Life of Jewel. Britiſh Biography, 8vo. vol. III.

THE LIFE OF

JOHN KNOX.

[A. D. 1505, to 1572.]

OUR chronological plan now conducts us to a review of the progreſs of the Reformation in the church of Scotland, where it was manfully propagated by one of the moſt eminent men of the age in which he lived, the celebrated John Knox, deſcended from an ancient and honourable family. He was born at Giffard, near Haddington in Scotland, in 1505, from whence he was removed at a proper age to the univerſity of St Andrews, and placed under the tuition of the learned Mr John Mair; and he applied with ſuch uncommon diligence to the academical learning then in vogue, that, in a ſhort time, and while yet very young, he obtained the degree of maſter of arts.

As the bent of his inclination led him ſtrongly to the church, he turned the courſe of his ſtudies very early to divinity, and, by the advantage of his tutor's inſtructions, ſoon became remarkable for his knowledge in ſcholaſtic theology; ſo that he took prieſt's orders before the period uſually allowed by the canons: and, from being a learner, began himſelf to teach with great applauſe his beloved ſcience. But, after ſome time, upon a careful peruſal of the fathers of the church, and particularly the writings of St Jerome and St Auſtin, his ſentiments were entirely altered. He quitted the

the cobweb ſubtilty of the ſchools, and took to the ſtudy of a more plain, ſolid, and rational divinity.

Having once embraced the ſcriptural doctrines of Chriſtianity, he attended none but ſuch preachers, whom he knew to be of the ſame way of thinking, the moſt eminent of whom was Guilliam, a black friar, whoſe ſermons were of extraordinary ſervice to him. This friar was provincial of his order in 1543, when the earl of Arran, then regent of Scotland, favoured the Reformation; and Mr George Wiſhart, another celebrated reformer, coming from England in the ſucceeding year, with the commiſſioners ſent from king Henry VIII. Knox being of an inquiſitive nature, learned from him the principles of the Proteſtants; with which he was ſo pleaſed, that he renounced the Romiſh religion, and became a zealous reformer, having left St Andrews a little before, to be tutor to the ſons of the lairds of Ormiſtoun and Languidry, who were both favourers of the Reformation.

Mr Knox's ordinary reſidence was at Languidry, where he not only inſtructed his pupils in the different branches of academical learning, but was particularly careful to inſtil into their minds the principles of piety and of the Proteſtant religion. This coming to the ears of David Beaton, the cardinal and archbiſhop of St Andrews, that prelate proſecuted him with ſuch ſeverity, that he was frequently obliged to abſcond, and flee from place to place. Whereupon, being wearied with ſuch continual danger, he reſolved to retire to Germany, where the new opinions were ſpreading very faſt; knowing that in England, though the pope's authority was ſuppreſſed, yet the greater part of the Romiſh tenets ſtill prevailed, and had the ſanction of the king's authority. But he was diſſuaded from this ſtep, by both the fathers of his pupils: and cardinal Beaton being aſſaſſinated by Norman and John Leſlie, in the caſtle of St Andrews, in 1546, in conſequence of his having condemned and burnt their relation the

venerable George Wiſhart for hereſy, Knox was adviſed to take ſhelter with his pupils in the caſtle, now in poſſeſſion of the Leſlies, the determined friends of the reformed religion.

Here he began to teach his pupils in his uſual manner. Beſides the grammar, and the claſſical authors, he read a catechiſm to them, which he obliged them to give an account of publicly, in the pariſh-church of St Andrews. He likewiſe continued to read to them the goſpel of St John, proceeding where he left off at his departure from Languidry. This lecture he read at a certain hour, in the chapel within the caſtle, and was attended by ſeveral gentlemen of the place. Among theſe Mr Henry Bolnaveis, and John Rough, a preacher there, being pleaſed with the manner of his doctrine, began earneſtly to entreat him to take upon him the office of a preacher. But he abſolutely refuſed; alledging, in a ſtrain of humour for which he was remarkable, "that he would not run where God had not called him." Hereupon, theſe gentlemen deliberating the matter in a conſultation with Sir David Lindſay, of the Mount, Lyon king at arms, a perſon of great probity and learning, it was concluded to give Mr Knox a charge publicly by the mouth of Mr Rough from the pulpit, to preach the goſpel of Chriſt to the deluded multitude, at a time when they ſtood moſt in need of ſuch able teachers; and this was accordingly done in a ſermon compoſed for the occaſion, the congregation at the ſame time joining with their miniſter, in declaring their belief that this was a holy vocation which he could not refuſe.

Mr Knox, with ſome reluctance, conſented, and after retiring for a few days from all ſociety, he aſcended the pulpit, and at once diſcovered that the Proteſtant cauſe had now acquired a moſt intrepid leader, whoſe fortitude, eloquence, and learning, would both aſtoniſh and confound his adverſaries. Inſtead of trifling with the ſubject, he boldly laid the axe to the root

root of Popery in his firſt ſermon, proving to the ſatisfaction of his auditors, that the doctrine of the Romiſh church was contrary to the doctrine of Chriſt and his apoſtles.

This ſermon made a great noiſe; and the Popiſh clergy being much incenſed at it, the abbot of Paiſley, lately nominated to the ſee of St Andrew, and not yet conſecrated, wrote a letter to the ſub-prior, who, *ſede vacante* was vicar-general, expreſſing great ſurprize, that ſuch heretical and ſchiſmatical doctrines were ſuffered to be taught without oppoſition.

Upon this rebuke, every official meaſure was taken to oppoſe Mr Knox; but he carefully avoided incurring eccleſiaſtical cenſure, by a peculiar and happy addreſs. In particular, the ſub-prior having ordered all the learned divines in St Andrew's, who were to preach by rotation in the pariſh churches on Sundays, to avoid all controverſial points, his diſcourſes were properly guarded on the Sabbaths; but as the injunction did not extend to other days, he made amends to his Proteſtant auditors, by preaching frequently on week-days, and with unbounded latitude againſt the errors of Popery; and his public miniſtry at St Andrew's was attended with that ſucceſs, which naturally accompanies the doctrines of truth, delivered with manly eloquence and pious intrepidity. Popery ſenſibly loſt ground, while converts to the reformed religion increaſed daily; and he was the firſt miniſter who ventured to adminiſter the ſacrament in Scotland, according to the rites of the reformed church; but ſuch was the zeal he had inſpired, that all the people in the caſtle, and many of the inhabitants of the town joined in communion with him. But this rapid ſucceſs only laſted from Eaſter to July, 1547, when the caſtle was ſurrendered to the French.

Mr Knox continued in the diligent diſcharge of his miniſterial work till that time, when he was carried with the garriſon to France, and remained a priſoner

on board the gallies till the latter end of the year 1549; when, being ſet at liberty, he paſſed to England; and going to London, was there licenſed, and appointed preacher, firſt at Berwick, and next at Newcaſtle.

While he was thus employed, he received a ſummons, in 1551, to appear before Cuthbert Tonſtal, biſhop of Durham, for preaching againſt the maſs; but what was the event we are not informed; however, in 1552, he was appointed one of the ſix chaplains, whom the council thought proper to retain in the ſervice of Edward VI. not only to attend the court, but to be itinerary preachers of the Proteſtant religion all over the kingdom, and, the enſuing year, he had the grant of forty pounds per annum, till ſome benefice in the church ſhould be conferred on him. The ſame year he came into ſome trouble on account of a bold ſermon preached at Newcaſtle, upon Chriſtmas-day, againſt the obſtinacy of the Papiſts; after which he returned to London; and, being well eſteemed by his Majeſty, and ſome of the court, for his zealous preaching againſt the errors of the Romiſh church, he was appointed to preach before the king and council at Weſtminſter; and in his ſermon he levelled ſome ſevere ſtrokes, with honeſt freedom, againſt ſome great men of the court, who were ſecret abettors of Popery. Yet, it is evident, that the council were not diſpleaſed; for about this time, the living of Allhallows, in London, was offered to him; but he refuſed it, not caring to conform to the Engliſh Liturgy as it then ſtood.

He was called before the council on the refuſal, and was told, that they were ſorry to find him of a contrary mind to the common order. Knox replied, "he was ſorry the common order was contrary to Chriſt's inſtitution," alluding to ſome ceremonies ſtill retained in the church of England, to which he objected; and on the ſame ground, it is ſaid, he refuſed a biſhopric, vehemently condemning all eccleſiaſtical dignities.

However,

However, he ſtill held his place of itinerary preacher; and, in the diſcharge of that office going to Buckinghamſhire, was greatly pleaſed with his reception at ſome towns, particularly at Amerſham, in that county; and he continued to preach there, and at other places, ſome time after queen Mary's acceſſion to the throne.

But, in the year 1554, he left England, and, croſſing the ſea to Dieppe, in France, went from thence to Geneva; where he had not long reſided, when he was called by the congregation of Engliſh refugees, then eſtabliſhed at Frankfort, to be preacher to them. This vocation he obeyed, though unwilling, at the command of John Calvin: and he continued at Frankfort till ſome of the principal perſons of his congregation, finding it impoſſible to perſuade him to uſe the Engliſh Liturgy, reſolved to effect his removal from the place.

With that view, Dr Cox, an Engliſh Proteſtant exile (biſhop of Ely, in the reign of Elizabeth), and his party, being determined to eſtabliſh the church of England ſervice at Frankfort, in oppoſition to that of Geneva, eſpouſed by Knox, took the moſt ungenerous meaſures to oblige him to quit the city. Knox had publiſhed a treatiſe ſome time before in England, intituled, "An Admonition to Chriſtians;" in which, with his uſual boldneſs, he had ſaid, that the emperor of Germany was as great an enemy to Chriſt as Nero; and his adverſaries, taking advantage of this and ſome other unguarded expreſſions in the treatiſe, accuſed him to the magiſtrates, of treaſon, committed both againſt their ſovereign, the emperor of Germany, and alſo againſt their own ſovereign in England, queen Mary. The magiſtrates, not having it in their power to ſave him, if he ſhould be demanded, either by the emperor, or, in his name, by queen Mary, gave him private notice thereof; which he no ſooner received, than he ſet out for Geneva, where he arrived on the 26th of March, 1555, but ſtaid there only till Auguſt following;

following; when, reſolving after ſo long an abſence to make a viſit to his native country, he went to Scotland.

Upon his arrival there, finding the profeſſors of the reformed religion much increaſed in number, and formed into a ſociety under the inſpection of ſome teachers, he aſſociated himſelf with them, and preached to them. Preſently after this, he accompanied one of them, the laird of Dun, to his ſeat in the north; where he reſided a month, teaching and preaching daily to conſiderable numbers who reſorted thither; among whom were the chief gentlemen in that country. From thence returning to Lothian, he lived, for the moſt part, in the houſe of Calder, with James Sandilands, where he met with many perſons of the firſt rank, with whom he converſed familiarly, and confirmed them in the truth of the Proteſtant doctrine.

He afterwards preached for a conſiderable time at Edinburgh; and in 1556, he went to the weſt of Scotland, at the deſire of ſome Proteſtant gentlemen, and preached in many places in Kyle. In ſome, he alſo celebrated the Euchariſt after the manner of the reformed churches. He likewiſe viſited the earl of Glencairn, at his houſe of Fynlaiſton in the county of Renfrew, and adminiſtered the ſacrament to his lordſhip's family.

From theſe weſtern parts he returned to the eaſt, and reſided ſome time at Calder, where many reſorted to him both for doctrine and the benefit of the ſacraments. From thence, he went a ſecond time to the laird of Dun's houſe, in the county of Mearns, where he preached more publicly than before, and adminiſtered the ſacraments to many perſons of note at their deſire.

The Popiſh clergy being greatly alarmed at this ſucceſs of Mr Knox, in protecting the Proteſtant cauſe, ſummoned him to appear before them in the church of the Black-Friars in Edinburgh, on the 15th of May, 1556; and ſeveral gentlemen of diſtinction, among whom

whom was the laird of Dun, reſolving to ſtand by him, he determined to obey the ſummons But the proſecution was dropped when the biſhops perceived ſuch a conſiderable party in his favour. However, he went to Edinburgh on the day on which he was cited; where he preached to a greater audience than ever he had done before; and in the biſhop of Dunkeld's houſe he inſtructed great numbers of people, who were deſirous of embracing the Proteſtant religion, twice a-day, for ten days ſucceſſively.

At this time the earl of Glencairn prevailed with the earl marſhal, and his truſtee, Henry Drummond, to hear one of Mr Knox's ſermons. They were extremely well ſatisfied with his diſcourſe, and propoſed to him to write to the queen-regent an earneſt letter, to perſuade her to hear the Proteſtant doctrine. He complied with their deſire, and wrote to her the latter end of May, 1556. The letter was delivered by the earl of Glencairn. The queen read it, and gave it to James Beaton, archbiſhop of Glaſgow (nephew of the cardinal who was aſſaſſinated) with this ſarcaſtic expreſſion, "Pleaſe you, my lord, to read a paſquil?" This gave occaſion to Mr Knox to make ſome additions to his letter, which he printed at Geneva in 1558.

While our reformer was thus occupied in Scotland, he received letters from the Engliſh congregation at Geneva, earneſtly entreating him to come thither; and, having ſeriouſly conſidered this invitation, he determined to comply with it. Accordingly, in July, 1556, he left Scotland, went firſt to Dieppe, in France, and from thence to Geneva.

He had no ſooner turned his back, than the biſhops ſummoned him before them; and, upon his non-appearance, they paſſed ſentence againſt him for hereſy, and burned him in effigy at the croſs of Edinburgh. Againſt this proceſs he afterwards printed, at Geneva, in 1558, his famous "Appellation from the cruel and moſt unjuſt ſentence pronounced againſt him by the falſe

falſe biſhops and clergy of Scotland, with his ſupplication to the nobility, eſtates, and commonalty of the ſaid realm;" a maſter-piece of its kind, not only for the noble defence of religious independency contained in it, but for the elegance and purity of the ſtyle.

In March, 1557, ſeveral noblemen, the chief promoters of the Reformation at that time in Scotland, judging their affairs to be in a pretty good poſture, and being ſenſible of the uſefulneſs of Mr Knox for this purpoſe, ſent him an expreſs, earneſtly deſiring him to return home. This letter coming to his hands in May 1557, he immediately communicated it to his congregation, who were very unwilling to part with him; but, having conſulted with Calvin and other miniſters, they gave it as their opinion, that he could not refuſe ſuch a plain call, unleſs he would declare himſelf rebellious to God, and unmerciful to his country. The congregation, upon this, yielded to his departure; and he wrote back by the meſſengers who brought the letter, that he would return to Scotland with all reaſonable expedition.

Accordingly, having provided for his flock at Geneva, he left them about the end of September, and came to Dieppe, in his way to Scotland, in October. But there he unexpectedly met with letters from thence, contrary to the former, informing him, that new conſultations were entered into, and adviſing him to ſtay at Dieppe till the concluſion of them. This was alſo farther explained in another letter, directed to a friend of Mr Knox, wherein he was told, that many of thoſe who had before joined in the invitation, were becoming inconſtant, and began to draw back.

Upon the receipt of theſe advices, Mr Knox wrote an expoſtulatory letter to the lords who had invited him, concerning their raſhneſs; wherein he denounced judgments againſt ſuch as ſhould be inconſtant in the religion they now profeſſed. Beſides which, he wrote ſeveral other letters from Dieppe, both to the nobility and

and to the profeſſors of the reformed religion of an inferior degree; exhorting them to conſtancy in that doctrine, and giving ſome uſeful cautions againſt the errors of ſectaries, which grew up about this time, both in Germany and in England. In theſe letters he alſo enjoined them to give due obedience to authority in all lawful things: and they had ſuch an effect on thoſe who received them, that they, one and all, entered into an agreement to commit themſelves, and whatſoever God had given them, into his hands, rather than ſuffer idolatry to reign; or the ſubjects to be defrauded of their religious liberties; and to ſecure each other's fidelity to the Proteſtant cauſe, a common bond, or covenant, was made and entered into by them, dated at Edinburgh, on the third of December, 1557; and from this period, they were known by the title of the CONGREGATION.

Mr Knox returned to Geneva in the beginning of 1558, and the ſame year he printed there his treatiſe, intituled, "The Firſt Blaſt of the trumpet againſt the monſtrous regimen of women." He deſigned to have written a ſubſequent piece, which was to have been called, "The ſecond Blaſt:" But queen Mary dying ſoon after the Firſt was publiſhed; and having a great eſteem for queen Elizabeth, whom he looked upon as an inſtrument raiſed up, by the providence of God, for the good of the Proteſtants, he went no farther.

In 1559, he determined to return to his native country; and having a ſtrong deſire, in his way thither, to viſit thoſe in England, to whom he had formerly preached the Goſpel, he applied to Sir William Cecil, his old acquaintance, now ſecretary of ſtate, to procure leave for that purpoſe. But this petition was ſo far from being granted, that the meſſenger, whom he ſent to ſolicit that favour, very narrowly eſcaped impriſonment. For it appears, that Knox's doctrine, contained in his "Firſt Blaſt," needed no ſequel, and had given great diſguſt to Elibabeth; for he maintain-

ed in it, "that it is unnatural, abſurd, and impious, for women in any country to be intruſted with the government of ſtates and kingdoms."

Hereupon, he made the beſt of his way to Scotland, where he arrived in May, and was very active in promoting the Reformation there, as appears from the ſecond book of his hiſtory, which contains a full account of his conduct till the Proteſtants were obliged to apply to England. For carrying on which tranſaction, in July of the ſame year, he was pitched upon to meet Sir William Cecil, incognito, at Stamford; but his journey being retarded by the danger of paſſing near the French, who lay at Dunbar, he was afterwards ſent, in company with Mr Robert Hamilton, another Proteſtant miniſter, to negotiate theſe affairs between the Proteſtants in Scotland and queen Elizabeth.

When they came to Berwick, they remained ſome days with Sir James Crofts, the governor, who undertook to manage their buſineſs for them, and adviſed them to return home, which they did. Secretary Cecil ſent alſo an anſwer to the Proteſtant nobility and gentry, concerning their propoſals to queen Elizabeth; which was ſo cool, that they were very near reſolving to break off the negotiation, had not Mr Knox interpoſed with ſo much earneſtneſs, that they allowed him to write once more to the ſecretary. To this letter an anſwer was returned without loſs of time, deſiring that ſome perſons of credit might be ſent to confer with the Engliſh at Berwick; and the ſame diſpatch informed them, that a ſum of money was ready to be delivered for carrying on the common cauſe; aſſuring them, that, if the lords of the Congregation were willing to enter into a league with queen Elizabeth, upon honourable terms, they neither ſhould want men nor money.

Upon this anſwer, Mr Henry Balnavers, a man well reſpected in both kingdoms, was ſent to Berwick, who ſoon returned with a ſum of money, which defrayed the public expence till November; when John Cockburne,

burne, of Ormiſtoun, being ſent for the ſecond ſupply, received it, but fell into the hands of earl Bothwell, who took the money from him.

The effect of theſe negotiations, was the ſending of an Engliſh army under the command of the duke of Norfolk, to aſſiſt the Scotch Proteſtants, and protect them againſt the perſecutions of the queen-regent, dowager of James V. who was ſupported by the arms of France. But the duke of Norfolk's army being joined by almoſt all the great men in Scotland, a peace was concluded between the three kingdoms, on the eighth of July, 1560.

The Congregationers being freed by this peace from any diſturbance, made ſeveral regulations towards propagating and eſtabliſhing the Proteſtant religion; and, in order to have the reformed doctrine preached throughout the kingdom, a diviſion was made thereof into twelve diſtricts (for the whole number of the reformed miniſters at this time was only twelve); whereby the diſtrict of Edinburgh was aſſigned to Mr Knox. Theſe twelve miniſters compoſed a Confeſſion of Faith, which was afterwards ratified by parliament. They alſo compiled the firſt books of diſcipline of their new church; and thus the papal authority, and the Romiſh worſhip, were aboliſhed in the kingdom of Scotland.

In the following year, however, the celebrated Mary, queen of Scots, arrived in her native country, from which ſhe had been abſent thirteen years, though ſhe was now but nineteen, and the widow of Francis II. king of France, who had been dead about a year. On the Sunday after her arrival, ſhe commanded maſs to be celebrated in the chapel of her palace, which ſtep occaſioned great murmurs among the Proteſtants who attended the court; and Knox, with his accuſtomed freedom and boldneſs, declared from the pulpit, that, "One maſs was more frightful to him, than ten thouſand armed enemies landed in the kingdom." And the animoſity of the people againſt Popery, being in-

creaſed by the apprehenſion of ſeeing it reſtored again by royal authority, was ſo great, that the queen's ſervants belonging to the chapel, were greatly inſulted and abuſed; farther violence in all probability would likewiſe have enſued, if the prior of St Andrew's, who was one of the heads of the Proteſtant party, had not ſeaſonably interpoſed. And by the perſuaſion of this gentleman, who brought over ſome of the moſt moderate of the Proteſtant leaders to his opinion, the queen and her domeſtics were permitted to enjoy the free excerciſe of their religion unmoleſted. But Knox's freedom of ſpeech was not ſo readily forgiven; it had given great offence to the queen, who ſent for him, and they held a long conference together on different ſubjects, which only ſerved to increaſe Mary's averſion to him; for, in anſwer to the queen's accuſation, that he had written a book which tended to ſubvert her authority, he told her, in an uncourtly ſtyle, "That if the realm found no inconvenience in being governed by a woman, that which the people approved, he ſhould not diſallow, farther than within his own breaſt; but ſhould be as well content to live under her Grace, as Paul was under Nero." "And my hope is," continued he, "that ſo long as you defile not your hand with the blood of the ſaints of God, that neither I, nor my book, ſhall either hurt you or your authority; for in very deed, Madam, the book was written againſt that wicked Jezebel (Mary) of England."

In 1562, we find him employed in reconconciling the earls of Bothwell and Arran; which is an evidence how much he was regarded by the moſt eminent perſons in the kingdom, and how much intereſt he had with them. The ſame year, the queen being informed, that her uncles were likely to recover their former intereſt at the court of France, received the news with great joy. Mr Knox hearing of her behaviour, and apprehending that the power of her relations would produce diſmal effects, in prejudice of the reformed

intereſt

intereſt in theſe parts, thought fit to preach a ſermon, wherein he taxed the ignorance, vanity, and deſpite of princes againſt all virtue, and againſt all thoſe in whom hatred of vice and love of virtue appeared. This, and other expreſſions, in reproof of dancing for joy, at the diſpleaſure taken againſt God's people, coming to the ears of the queen, her majeſty ſent for him, and had a ſecond conference with him.

This year alſo, he was appointed, by the general aſſembly, commiſſioner to the counties of Kyle and Galloway; and, by his influence, ſeveral of the moſt eminent gentlemen entered into a covenant, which was ſubſcribed on the fourth of September, 1562.

From the ſhire of air he went to Nithſdale and Galloway, and had ſeveral conferences about matters of great importance with the maſter of Moxwell; and from this county he wrote to the duke of Chaterault, giving him cautions both againſt the biſhop of St Andrew's and the earl of Huntley, whoſe counſels he judged might prove obnoxious to the Proteſtants. About this time he accepted a challenge, made by an eminent perſon among the Papiſts, to a public diſputation upon the maſs, which continued the ſpace of three days, and was afterwards printed.

In the beginning of the queen's firſt parliament, held in 1563, Mr Knox endeavoured to excite the earl of Murray to appear with zeal and courage to get the Proteſtant religion firmly eſtabliſhed by law; but finding him cooler than he expected, a breach enſued between them, which continued for a year and a half: and, after the bill was rejected, the parliament not being diſſolved, he preached a ſermon before a great many of the members, wherein he expreſſed his ſenſe of that matter with vehemency; and, at the cloſe, declared his abhorrence of the queen's deſign of marrying a Papiſt. This gave great offence to the court; and her majeſty, ſending for him a third time, expreſſed much paſſion, and thought to have puniſhed him, but was prevailed upon to deſiſt at that time.

In 1565, lord Darnley being married to the queen, was adviſed by the Proteſtants about court to hear Mr Knox preach, as thinking it would contribute much to procure him the good will of the people. Darnley accordingly complied, but was ſo much offended at the ſermon, that he complained to the council, who immediately ordered Mr Knox before them, and ſilenced him for ſeveral days.

His text indeed was very remarkable, and his application of it ſtill more ſtriking. The words were, "*O Lord our God, other lords, beſides thee, have had dominion over us;*" from which he took occaſion to ſpeak of the government of wicked princes, who for the ſins of the people are ſent as tyrants and ſcourges to plague them; and ſometimes, ſaid he, God ſets over them, for their offences and ingratitude, BOYS and WOMEN.

The general aſſembly, which met in December this year, in their fourth ſeſſion, appointed Mr Knox to draw up a conſolatory letter in their name, to encourage the miniſters to continue in their vocations, which many were under temptation to leave for want of ſubſiſtence; and to exhort the profeſſors of the realm to ſupply their neceſſities. He was alſo appointed by this aſſembly to viſit, preach, and plant the kirks of the ſouth. But he requeſted the next general aſſembly, which met at Edinburgh in December 1566, that he might have leave to go to England to viſit two of his ſons in that kingdom, and alſo to tranſact ſome other buſineſs there. The aſſembly granted his requeſt, but limited his ſtay in England to their next annual meeting. They then furniſhed him with ample teſtimonials of his life, doctrines, and public uſefulneſs in the miniſtry, and a ſtrong recommendation to all Proteſtants. He alſo carried with him a letter from the aſſembly to the biſhops of England, drawn up by himſelf; complaining of their ſevere treatment of the Engliſh Puritans, and ſoliciting indulgence for them.

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In 1567, Mr Knox preached a ſermon at the coronation of King James VI. of Scotland, afterwards James I. of England. This year was very remarkable in Scotland, on account of the great turn of affairs there, queen Mary being obliged to reſign the government, on the appointment of the earl of Murray to be regent. The firſt parliament which was called by the earl, met upon the 15th of December. It was a very numerous convention of all the eſtates, and Mr Knox preached a very zealous ſermon at the opening of it. He was alſo extremely afflicted at the regent's death in 1569.

In 1571, the Hamiltons and others, who had entered into a combination againſt the earl of Lenox, then regent, began to fortify the town of Edinburgh. While they were thus employed, a council was held by them in the caſtle on the fourth of May; where the laird of Grainge, captain of the caſtle, propoſed that they might give ſecurity for the perſon of Mr Knox, which was alſo much deſired by the town's people. The Hamiltons anſwered, That they could not promiſe him ſecurity upon their honour, becauſe there were many in the town who loved him not, beſides other diſorderly people that might do him harm without their knowledge.

Upon this anſwer, which plainly ſhewed no good intention to Mr Knox, his friends in the town, with Mr Craig, his colleague, at their head, entreated him to leave the place. In compliance with their requeſts, he left Edinburgh on the fifth of May; he went firſt to Abbotſhall in Fife, and from thence to St Andrew's, where he remained till the twenty-third of Auguſt, 1572.

This year there was a convention of the miniſters at Leith, where it was agreed, that a certain kind of epiſcopacy ſhould be introduced into the church, which was zealouſly oppoſed by our reformer. The troubles of the country being much abated, and the people of Edinburgh, who had been obliged to leave it, being returned, they ſent two of their number to St Andrew's,

drew's, to invite Mr Knox to return to them, and to aſk his advice about the choice of another miniſter to aſſiſt him during the time of the troubles. The ſuperintendant of Lothian was with them, when they preſented the letter; which, when Mr Knox had peruſed, he conſented to return, upon this condition, that he ſhould not be defired in any ſort to ceaſe ſpeaking againſt the treaſonable dealings of thoſe who held out the caſtle of Edinburgh; and this he defired them to ſignify to the whole body of the brethren, leſt they ſhould afterwards repent; and, after his return, he repeated theſe words more than once, to his friends there, before he entered the pulpit. They anſwered, that they never meant to put a bridle on his tongue, but defired him to ſpeak according to his conſcience, as in former times. They alſo requeſted his advice upon the choice of a miniſter; and, after ſome debates, they agreed upon Mr James Lawſon, ſub-principal of the king's college at Aberdeen.

Mr Knox left St Andrew's on the ſeventeenth of Auguſt, and came to Leith on the twenty-third. Upon the laſt day of that month, he preached in the great kirk; but his voice was become very weak, and therefore he defired another place to teach in, where his voice might be heard, if it were but by an hundred perſons; which was granted: after which Mr Knox continued to preach in the Tolbooth as long as he had ſtrength; but his health received a great ſhock from the news of the maſſacre of the Proteſtants at Paris, about this time. However, he introduced it into his next ſermon, with his uſual denunciation of God's vengeance thereon, which he defired the French ambaſſador, monſieur La Crocque, might be acquainted with. On Sunday, November the ninth, 1572, he admitted Mr Lawſon to be miniſter of Edinburgh. But his voice was ſo weak, that very few could hear him; he declared the mutual duty between a miniſter and his flock; he praiſed God that had given them one in his room, he being

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now unable to teach, and desired that God might augment his graces to him a thousand-fold above what he had possessed, if it were his pleasure, and ended with pronouncing the blessing.

From this time his approaching dissolution was observed with concern by all his friends; an unwearied application to study, continual agitation in business, during troublesome times, joined to the frequency and fervour of his public preaching, had worn out a constitution naturally strong, and had brought on a lingering decay: during the course of which, he discovered the greatest fortitude and resignation, constantly employing himself in acts of devotion, and comforting himself with the prospect of immortality, which not only preserves good men from despondency, but fills them with exultation in their last moments. Thus in his death, which happened on the 24th of November, 1572, did he set a glorious example, as he had done in his life, to those whose principal director he had been, in the laudable but arduous task of reforming them from the errors of superstition, ignorance, and priestcraft.

A summary of the character of this extraordinary man is so admirably drawn up by the masterly pen of Dr Robertson, that we cannot finish this article with greater propriety, than by borrowing it upon so justifiable an occasion as the embellishment of a work, which in its very nature disclaims originality, and can only stand indebted for its merit to the judicious introduction of established authorities, and of the refined sentiments of celebrated writers.

"Knox was the prime instrument of spreading and establishing the reformed religion in Scotland. Zeal, intrepidity, disinterestedness, were virtues which he possessed in an eminent degree. He was acquainted too with the learning cultivated in that age; and excelled in that species of eloquence, which is calculated to rouse and to inflame. His maxims however were often

often too ſevere, and the impetuoſity of his temper exceſſive. Rigid and uncomplying himſelf, he ſhewed no indulgeuce to the infirmities of others. And regardleſs of the diſtinctions of rank and character, he uttered his admonitions with an acrimony and vehemence, more apt to irritate than to reclaim. Thoſe very qualities, however, which now render his character leſs amiable, fitted him to be the inſtrument of Providence for advancing the Reformation among a fierce people, and enabled him to face dangers, and to ſurmount oppoſition, from which a perſon of a more gentle ſpirit would have been apt to ſhrink back."

He was interred with great ſolemnity in the kirkyard of St Giles's, the corpſe being attended by ſeveral of the nobility then in Edinburgh, particularly by the earl of Morton, that day choſen regent, who, as ſoon as he was laid in his grave, ſaid, "There lies a man who never in his life feared the face of a man, who hath been often threatened with dag and dagger, but yet hath ended his days in peace and honour. For he had God's providence watching over him in an eſpecial manner, when his very life was ſought."

Dr Robertſon juſtly obſerves, that this eulogium is the more honourable, as it came from one whom he had often cenſured with peculiar ſeverity.

Mr Knox publiſhed ſeveral theological and controverſial pieces in his own time, which were reprinted, and annexed to the fourth edition of his "Hiſtory of the Reformation of Religion within the Realm of Scotland, &c." which was printed at Edinburgh, in folio, in 1732.

*** *Authorities,* Biog. Britan. Mackenzie's Lives of the Scotch writers; Dr Robertſon's Hiſtory of Scotland.

THE

THE LIFE OF

MATTHEW PARKER,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

[A. D. 1504, to 1575.]

Including Memoirs of GEORGE BROWNE, and of HUGH CORWIN, Archbiſhops of Dublin.

THE æra of the complete and permanent eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant religion in England, Scotland, and Ireland, comprizes the moſt intereſting part of the eccleſiaſtical hiſtory of theſe kingdoms; and it is hoped, that the reader's patience will not be put to too ſevere a trial, by attending to the meaſures which were taken by queen Elizabeth and the eminent divine ſhe placed in the ſee of Canterbury, to eſtabliſh and confirm the church of England.

One of the principal inſtruments for accompliſhing this important buſineſs, was Matthew Parker, the ſon of a reputable citizen of Norwich, where he was born in the year 1504. His father died when he was very young, but having ordered by his will, that he ſhould be devoted to the church, his mother ſent him at a proper age to Bennet, now Corpus Chriſti college, Cambridge; where his lively genius, improved by aſſiduous application to thoſe ſtudies which are peculiarly adapted to the ſacred function, eſtabliſhed his reputation in early life, as a man of uncommon learning for his age. In 1537, he entered into prieſt's orders, took the degree of maſter of arts, and was choſen fellow of his college. At this time, a flattering teſtimony of his conſpicuous abilities was given by cardinal Wolſey, who offered him one of the firſt fellowſhips in his new college at Oxford; but, by the perſuaſion of his friends he declined the invitation, and continued at Cambridge, diligently proſecuting his ſtudies.

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In the year 1533, he commenced preacher, and became ſo popular, that his fame reached the ear of Cranmer, who, on enquiry, finding likewiſe, that his opinions favoured the Reformation, ſent him a ſpecial licence to preach in his dioceſe, and recommended him to the notice of Henry VIII. The king ſent for him to court the ſame year; and his queen Anne Boleyn, being highly pleaſed with a ſermon preached before her, in which Parker avowed the principles of the reformed churches abroad, ſhe appointed him one of her chaplains, placed the greateſt confidence in him ever after, and upon her fatal reverſe of fortune gave him ſeveral private injunctions reſpecting her daughter the princeſs Elizabeth, the care of whoſe education ſhe particularly directed ſhould be entruſted to him; and thus the baſis was laid of the ſtrong attachment of that princeſs to her learned and pious ſpiritual guardian.

Mr Parker's firſt benefice in the church was the deanery of Stoke in Suffolk, which the king gave him on the queen's ſolicitations in 1534; and from this time, to the death of his royal patroneſs, we meet with nothing remarkable concerning him, except an accuſation brought againſt him by the Popiſh party, for expoſing the errors of the Romiſh church with great freedom, in his ſermons at St Paul's Croſs: but he defended himſelf in a moſt ſatisfactory manner, and was ordered by the lord chancellor Audley, who tried the charge, to perſevere in ſo good a cauſe, regardleſs of the menaces or accuſations of his adverſaries.

King Henry made Mr Parker one of his chaplains after the fall of Anne Boleyn; and during the remainder of this reign, he continued riſing in the church, and in the univerſity of Cambridge. The degree of doctor of divinity was conferred on him in 1538. In 1544, he was elected maſter of his college; and the following year, vice-chancellor.

Dr Parker had indulged a ſincere affection for a young lady, of the family of Harfleſtone in Norfolk, and

and a tender intercourſe had been carried on for ſome years, but the ſix bloody articles, one of which forbade the marriages of the clergy, being put in force with uncommon rigour, about the time that this connection was formed, the happy union of the parties was delayed till the ſtatute was repealed on the acceſſion of Edward VI. when they were married; and it ſhould ſeem by the ſequel, that the Papiſts, his avowed enemies, always had their eye upon this expected event. Our divine, during the ſhort reign of Edward, chiefly diſtinguiſhed himſelf as a frequent and zealous preacher in ſupport of the Reformation, and conſequently could not eſcape the notice of the oppoſite party, to whom he rendered himſelf extremely obnoxious, by the ſhare he had in the ſuppreſſion of the rebels, under Kett, the tanner of Norwich. For Dr Parker, being one of their countrymen, with great intrepidity went to their camp, and preached to the rebels from the oak of Reformation, perſuading them to ſubmit to the king, and to return to their families and occupations; which had ſuch an effect that many diſperſed; and their army being conſiderably diminiſhed, became an eaſier conqueſt to the king's forces, commanded by the earl of Warwick, who totally defeated them. This eminent ſervice, however, was performed at the peril of his life, for ſome of the leaders, aware of the conſequences of his ſermon, which cooled the ardour of their men, were for ſacrificing him on the ſpot; but a large party, better pleaſed with his friendly admonitions, conducted him ſafely out of the camp.

It is rather extraordinary, that Parker was not promoted in this reign, in which we do not find that he received any addition to the eccleſiaſtical preferments he enjoyed at the demiſe of Henry. We are told, indeed by Strype, that, "he was nominated to a biſhopric, which he either refuſed, or others ſtepped in before him;" but from the reluctance he afterwards ſhewed

to accept the higheſt ſtation in the church, it is moſt probable that he declined the offer, and preferred a private life, eſpecially as he was perfectly at eaſe in his circumſtances at this period. But queen Mary no ſooner aſcended the throne, than his inveterate enemies availing themſelves of his marriage, made him experience a total reverſe of fortune; for he was deprived of all his preferments, and reduced with his wife, and two ſons, to the neceſſity of living with the utmoſt parſimony, and in the greateſt privacy and obſcurity, often changing their place of abode, to prevent his falling into the hands of the bloody perſecutors of the reformed clergy; whoſe fury, however, he moſt fortunately eſcaped by his own vigilance, and the unwearied aſſiduity of his friends.

At length, he had the happineſs to be called forth from his retreat, to new acceſſions of honour and fortune. Queen Elizabeth embracing the earlieſt opportunity to reward him for his ſervices and his ſufferings in the Proteſtant cauſe, nominated him, ſoon after ſhe was proclaimed, to fill the archiepiſcopal ſee of Canterbury, vacant by the death of Cardinal Pole. Dr Parker, however, was ſo far from being elated at this moſt diſtinguiſhing mark of the approbation of his ſovereign, that he requeſted the lord keeper Bacon, to uſe his intereſt with the queen, to permit him to decline the acceptance of this great honour, alleging, among other excuſes, his bodily infirmities, particularly a hurt which he had received by a fall from his horſe in flying by night from ſome perſons who were ſent to apprehend him in the late reign. The injury he complained of was the conſequence of a contuſion on his breaſt, which made preaching very painful to him, and therefore, in his opinion, diſqualified him for the eſſential duties of his high ſtation. But the queen perſiſting in her choice, he was conſecrated at Lambeth in [illegible]9; and it was ſoon perceived, that this appointment was one of the many which manifeſted

ed the great penetration and political genius of the ſovereign: for the archbiſhop, being inveſted with full powers to eſtabliſh the Proteſtant Religion, took a ſpecial care to recommend to the queen ſuch divines who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves for their piety, their learning, and their zeal, in promoting the Reformation, to fill the vacant ſees, and the other eccleſiaſtical benefices, of which the Popiſh prieſts were ſoon after deprived, for not conforming to the new ſtatutes and injunctions concerning religion.

Archbiſhop Parker likewiſe extended his influence and his concern for the Proteſtant intereſt to the kingdom of Ireland, where religion had ſuffered the ſame revolutions as in England; the Reformation having been ſet on foot during the adminiſtration of Cromwell, earl of Eſſex, in the reign of Henry VIII. by George Browne archbiſhop of Dublin, an Engliſhman, and an Auguſtine Friar of London, who was promoted to that ſee by Cromwell's recommendation. This prelate was the firſt clergyman in Ireland who embraced the Reformation. He proceeded in it with ſuch zeal, that he carried the bill for eſtabliſhing Henry's ſupremacy through the parliament of Ireland at a time when even the attempt was reckoned dangerous. He alſo removed all images and ſuperſtitious relics from the churches, and was the firſt who ordered the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, to be placed in their ſtead, at the altars; after which, he detected ſome conſpirators who were ſent from Rome, to raiſe a rebellion in Ireland, and root out hereſy. He continued to exert the ſame active zeal in the reign of Edward, but in the firſt year of Mary, being a married man, he was deprived, and died ſoon after. Popery was then reſtored again in Ireland, but when archbiſhop Parker had ſettled the affairs of the church of England, he ſent over proper inſtructions to Hugh Corwin, archbiſhop of Dublin, for completing the Reformation of the church of Ire-

land, and he was to be ſupported by the earl of Suſſex, newly appointed the queen's lieutenant of that kingdom. Accordingly, the Litany was ſung in Engliſh at the cathedral in Dublin, the earl and his court being preſent, which ſo exaſperated the Popiſh party, that they had recourſe to the old ſacrilegious fraud of inventing a miracle. The particulars of this laſt effort to impoſe on the credulous are very curious, and therefore we ſhall give them in the words of Strype, who relates the ſtory, as communicated in a letter from archbiſhop Corwin to archbiſhop Parker.

"There was in the cathedral an image of Chriſt in marble, ſtanding with a reed in his hand and a crown of thorns on his head; and while ſervice was ſaying before the lord-lieutenant, the archbiſhop, the reſt of the privy council, and the corporation of Dublin (on the ſecond Sunday of ſinging the Engliſh Litany,) blood was ſeen to run through the crevices of the crown of thorns, trickling down the face of the image. The people did not perceive it at firſt; therefore, ſome who were in the fraud cried out to one another, and bade them ſee, how our Saviour's image ſweat blood. Whereat ſeveral of the common people fell down with their beads in their hands, and prayed to the image. Vaſt numbers flocked to the ſight, and one preſent, who indeed was the contriver, and formerly belonged to the priory of the cathedral, told the people the cauſe, *viz.* that he could not chuſe but ſweat blood, whilſt hereſy was then come into the church. The confuſion hereupon was ſo great, that the aſſembly broke up. But the people ſtill fell upon their knees, thumping their breaſts; and particularly one of the aldermen, the mayor of the city, whoſe name was Sedgrave, and who had been at the Engliſh ſervice, drew forth his beads, and prayed with the reſt before the image. The earl of Suſſex, and thoſe of the privy council, haſted out of the choir, fearing ſome harm. But the archbiſhop being diſpleaſed, cauſed a form to

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be brought out of the choir, and bade the ſexton to ſtand thereon, and to ſearch and waſh the image, and ſee if it would bleed afreſh. The man ſoon perceived the cheat, obſerving a ſponge within the hollow of the image's head. This ſponge, one Leigh, the perſon above mentioned, had ſoaked in a bowl of blood, and, early on Sunday morning, watching his opportunity, placed the ſaid ſponge ſo ſwoln and heavy with blood, over the head of the image within the crown; and ſo, by little and little, the blood ſoaked through upon the face. The ſponge was preſently brought down and ſhewn to theſe worſhippers; who began to be aſhamed, and ſome of them curſed father Leigh, who was ſoon diſcovered, and three or four others who had been the contrivers of it." Theſe were expoſed and puniſhed, and the archbiſhop ordered the image to be removed.

Ridiculous as this ſtory muſt appear, it had a very happy effect at the time in England; for archbiſhop Parker cauſed it to be univerſally circulated, to cool the ardour of thoſe who ſtill retained a veneration for images, a folly which ſeems to have adhered to queen Elizabeth for ſome time after her acceſſion, though many writers impute it to policy. However this be, the ſight of this letter, backed by ſeveral paſſages produced from ſcripture by our Proteſtant divines, overcame her ſcruples, and ſhe conſented to have them taken down throughout the kingdom, and demoliſhed.

But ſtill the great work of fixing the religion of the ſtate on a permanent footing, and as conſonant to the civil polity of the kingdom as poſſible, ſuffered many impediments and obſtructions, not indeed from the Romiſh perſuaſion, who had now loſt all hopes, but the deſperate one of cutting off the ſecular power, that preſumed to countenance an eſtabliſhed hereſy. The oppoſition aroſe from the diſciples of Calvin, and other ſectaries, who, though they were Proteſtants, objected as much as the Papiſts to ſome of the doctrines, and more

more generally to the worſhip of the church of England, as it was then juſt eſtabliſhed by the act of uniformity. Some of theſe rejected infant baptiſm, and were ſtyled *Anabaptiſts*; ſome again affirmed, while others denied, the doctrines of *free-will* and *predeſtination*, and adminiſtered the ſacraments in their own manner; theſe likewiſe branched out into many other diſtinctions; and Calvin ſupported their pretenſions to a ſhare in the eccleſiaſtical part of our conſtitution, by writing a polite, but artful letter to archbiſhop Parker, requeſting him to prevail with the queen to call a general aſſembly of all the Proteſtant clergy whereſoever diſperſed, that they might agree upon one common form of worſhip and of church government, to be eſtabliſhed not only within her dominions, but alſo among all the reformed and evangelical churches abroad. But the Engliſh exiles who lived abroad, during the reign of Mary, ſome of whom were men of great piety and learning, as well eccleſiaſtics as laics, having already ſhewn great diverſity of opinions on this delicate ſubject; ſome having contended (as we have noticed in the life of Knox) for the ſervice of the church of England, and others for that of Geneva, the privy-council conſidering, that the church of England in this its infant ſtate, required ſome ſupport from authority, reſolved to maintain epiſcopacy, and this reſolution Parker was ordered to tranſmit to Calvin, thanking him at the ſame time for his candid offers.

A more effectual method could not be taken to ſilence Calvin, who was a great enemy to any epiſcopal government of Chriſt's church: accordingly, he made no farther application to the Britiſh court, but he ſecretly encouraged all the Engliſh diſſenters from the worſhip of the church of England; who upon their ſeparation from that church upon the publication of the act of uniformity, were called *Puritans*, from their laying claim to a purer form of worſhip and church diſci-

pline,

pline, in their idea, than that which was now eſtabliſhed in England.

Another prejudice, ſtill retained by queen Elizabeth, was a ſtrong averſion to the marriages of prieſts, upon which ſubject ſhe would certainly have come to a rupture with the archbiſhop, if Cecil had not compromiſed matters between them, by getting Parker, who was as tenacious of his opinions as her majeſty, to agree to a royal injunction, that no head or member of any college or cathedral ſhould bring a wife, or any other woman, into the precincts of it, to abide in the ſame, on pain of forfeiture of all eccleſiaſtical preferments. It ſhould ſeem as if the queen and our archbiſhop had determined to plague each other on the ſubject of matrimony; for Parker had written a letter to her majeſty, exhorting her to enter into that holy ſtate, to which he had procured the ſignature of ſome other prelates, and now upon his application to her, to revoke this injunction, ſhe treated the inſtitution with ſevere ſatire and marked contempt, telling the archbiſhop ſhe repented having made any married men biſhops; which mortified him not a little, and occaſioned his writing a ſharp letter to the ſecretary of ſtate, in which he informed him, that the biſhops were all diſſatisfied with the queen, and that for his part he repented his having accepted the ſtation he now held.

This miſunderſtanding, however, was no ſooner adjuſted, than a religious quarrel of another nature broke out among the clergy of the eſtabliſhed church, which threatened an alarming and dangerous ſchiſm, and could not fail of giving cauſe of ſcandal to all well-diſpoſed Chriſtians; ſince even the biſhops were divided in opinion, and formed themſelves into diſtinct parties.

The queen in conſequence of a clauſe in the act of uniformity, which impowered her to add any rites and ceremonies ſhe thought proper to the eſtabliſhed church, had enjoined particular eccleſiaſtical habits to be worn by the different orders of the clergy; to theſe regulations

regulations ſome implicitly conformed, others rejected part of their dreſs, and not a few the whole, as the relics of Popiſh ſuperſtition. Surplices and copes in particular were ſtrongly objected to; and this difference in opinion had ſuch an effect upon the congregations, that divine ſervice was almoſt deſerted by thoſe who had a prepoſſeſſion in favour of theſe habits, if the prieſt of the pariſh was of a contrary opinion; and the ſame happened in pariſhes where the people abhorred theſe garments, and their paſtors perſiſted in wearing them. In ſhort, as it happens in all public diſputes, which give riſe to parties, the infection ſpread to private families, and cauſed domeſtic altercations. And, as the majority of the laity were againſt theſe habits, the clergy who wore them were ſubjected to the inſults of the common people, who conſidered them as hypocrites, believing them to be Papiſts at heart, and conformiſts to the reformed religion only from worldly motives. This ſpirit in the people increaſed with their averſion to Popery; and our archbiſhop, whoſe advice the queen chiefly followed, was ſeverely cenſured as the principal author of theſe diſturbances. But neither Parker, nor the reſt of the prelates of his party, made any conceſſion to quiet the minds of the diſſatisfied: on the contrary, when the two archbiſhops were ſent for to court, and commanded to reſtore the peace of the church, they immediately purſued ſuch meaſures as were calculated to inforce obedience from the clergy; and the laity were totally left out of the queſtion, unleſs they thought proper to conform to the ordinances now drawn up by Parker and his aſſociates, for due order in preaching and adminiſtering the ſacraments, and for the apparel of perſons eccleſiaſtical.

In conſequence of theſe regulations, the breach was widened, and has not been cloſed to this hour; for all the licences for preaching were directly cancelled, and no new ones granted but to ſuch of the clergy as would

would ſubſcribe to the queen's original injunctions concerning the eccleſiaſtical habits, and to the ordinances ſet forth by Parker, containing ſome articles to which many of the clergy, and a conſiderable body of the laity, could by no means be brought to conform. Among other things, the principal miniſter was to wear a cope when he adminiſtered the ſacrament: at prayers they were all to wear ſurplices; in the pariſh churches, and in cathedrals, hoods, in which they were to preach: the communion-table was to be placed in the eaſt, and no perſon permitted to receive the ſacrament in any other poſture but kneeling. And, finally, no perſon to be ordained, who had not taken degrees at Oxford or Cambridge.

A violent ſchiſm enſued, and ſuch numbers of the clergy reſigned their benefices and cures, that the two univerſities could not ſupply men of tolerable abilities to fill up the vacancies. The biſhops were therefore obliged to procure degrees for, and to ordain, many illiterate perſons, but whom they found ready to comply with any forms or ceremonies by which they might be inducted to valuable livings.

But among the clergy who refuſed to conform were many perſons of the firſt reputation for piety, learning, and moral character, for whom the candid and diſintereſted in general conceived the higheſt veneration. Theſe had conſiderable intereſt at court; and they were countenanced by a few of the moderate biſhops, particularly by Jewel, biſhop of Saliſbury, and Pilkington, biſhop of Durham, who, as they had been exiles for their profeſſion of the Proteſtant faith in the worſt of times, could not be ſuſpected of want of zeal: and, therefore, they wrote with great freedom and intrepidity to the earl of Leiceſter, the reigning court favourite, repreſenting that the reformed countries abroad had caſt off Popiſh apparel with the pope, that in things, indifferent in themſelves, compulſion ſhould not be uſed by any means; and that ſo many miniſters were reſolved

reſolved to leave their livings, rather than comply; that it would be impoſſible to find proper teachers, the realm being ſcarce of them, and many places entirely deſtitute of any. Leiceſter, already inclined to favour the cauſe of the non-conformiſts, gained over ſeveral other courtiers, and their repreſentations had ſuch an effect on the queen, that ſhe reſolved to withdraw the royal ſanction, and leave the ordinances to the eccleſiaſtical court, which had ſufficient authority over the inferior clergy by the canon law, to inforce obedience if it was judged neceſſary to exert it; and thus the odium of a ſpiritual perſecution againſt the Puritans was taken off from the crown, and thrown upon the archbiſhops and their party.

Parker, exaſperated at this meaſure, openly declared, that the queen had ordered him to draw up the injunctions and the ordinances, and he reſolved to abide by them. He now publiſhed them under the title of Advertiſements, and ſoon gave the clergy to underſtand, that he would inforce them with rigour in the ſpiritual court; for he cited Sampſon, dean of Chriſt's church Oxford, and Humphreys, preſident of Magdalen college, to appear before him, and other eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners; and after trying every perſuaſive argument to induce them to conform, they were menaced with deprivation in caſe of refuſal, and a ſhort time was allowed them to give in their anſwer. This, however, they employed in writing an elaborate letter to the commiſſioners in defence of their conduct, and in ſupport of religious liberty. With great coolneſs and judgment they expreſſed their concern, that ſuch a diſſention ſhould ariſe for ſo trifling a ſubject; *propter lanam et linum;* meaning, the ſquare cap and the ſurplice; and only required the ſame indulgence for their opinions, which they were ready to grant to thoſe, who differed from them. This law, concerning the reſtoring the ceremonies of the church of Rome, they ſaid, appeared to them to be joined with the hazard of

of ſlavery, neceſſity, and ſuperſtition: "But becauſe this does not ſeem to you, you are not to be condemned by us; becauſe this does ſeem ſo to us, we are not to be vexed by you." Theſe and other arguments, equally fraught with the ſpirit of primitive Chriſtianity, charity, and affection, had no weight with the commiſſioners, who acted under the influence of the archbiſhop, and he was determined to make an example of theſe two divines, who were univerſally eſteemed for their great learning; their zeal in the Proteſtant cauſe, and their ſufferings on that account in the reign of queen Mary, being of the number of the unfortunate exiles, who were reduced to great extremities abroad, ſubſiſting ſolely on the charity of the foreign Proteſtants. Accordingly, on their ſecond appearance, they were ordered to comply in a peremptory manner by the archbiſhop, and on their refuſal, they were taken into cuſtody, and confined in the archbiſhop's palace at Lambeth, with a view of terrifying the inferior clergy. But this proceeding not having the deſired effect, they were deprived, and then releaſed.

Soon after, the archbiſhop ordered the whole body of the London clergy to appear before him, and ſome of the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners, at Lambeth, on a certain day, to ſubſcribe their conformity to the injunctions and ordinances, and having given proper notice of his intention to the court, he requeſted ſecretary Cecil and ſome of the privy council to be preſent; but he could not obtain their conſent; however, he found means to procure a royal proclamation, requiring uniformity in the habits of the clergy, under pain, upon refuſal, of being ſilenced and deprived.

When the London clergy appeared in court, they were admoniſhed to follow the pious example of one Thomas Cole; who overcoming his ſcruples, by the force of perſuaſions, had conformed, and being dreſſed in the habits required by the injunctions, was placed in a conſpicuous manner near the commiſſioners. The archbiſhop's

archbiſhop's chancellor then addreſſed them in theſe words, as related by Strype, in his life of Grindal, biſhop of London.

"My maſters, and ye miniſters of London! the council's pleaſure is, that ſtrictly ye keep the unity of apparel, like to this man (pointing to Mr Cole) that is, wear a ſquare cap, and ſcholar's gown, prieſt-like, a tippet, and in the church, a linen ſurplice, and inviolably obſerve the rubric of the Book of Common Prayer, and the queen's majeſty's injunctions, and the Book of Convocation (the Thirty-Nine Articles) ye, that will ſubſcribe, write *Volo*. Thoſe that will not ſubſcribe, write *Nolo*. Be brief, make no words." And when ſome of the clergy offered to ſpeak, he interrupted them, crying, "Peace, peace,—apparitor call over the churches; and ye maſters anſwer preſently *ſub pœna contemptus*, and ſet your names." Of ninety-eight preſent, ſixty-one ſubſcribed; and when the reſt preſented a paper to the archbiſhop, aſſigning their reaſons for refuſing, his grace told them, that it was no part of the duty of the commiſſioners to debate; adding, "he did not doubt, but when they had felt the ſmart of want and poverty, they would comply; for the wood as yet was but green."

It would be a tedious and unſatisfactory taſk to follow the archbiſhop through all his inquiſitorial proceedings againſt the non-conforming clergy, in which he perſiſted to the laſt; nor ſhould we have dwelt ſo long upon this article, if it had not enabled us to trace the origin of the ſubſcriptions required from the clergy to the Thirty-Nine Articles, and other canonical ordinances, a ſubject which is become intereſting in our day, by the vigorous but ineffectual applications lately made to parliament for relief, from this act of religious thraldom.

We are likewiſe indebted to this part of our hiſtory, for the riſe of that reſpectable body of diſſenters from the church of England, who have ever ſince approved themſelves

themſelves the zealous and ſteady friends of the religious and civil liberties of their country.

For the archbiſhop did not ſtop here; but finding that the books and pamphlets publiſhed by the deprived clergy, who, with the diſſenting laity, were now ſtyled *Puritans*, were written with manly freedom, and contained unanſwerable arguments in favour of their refuſal to comply with ceremonies retained from the Romiſh church; he complained to the privy-council, that the queen's injunctions were diſobeyed, and the ſchiſm in the church increaſed by the publication of heterodox libels. This application to the government produced an order from that arbitrary tribunal the ſtar-chamber, prohibiting all books and pamphlets in which any thing was advanced againſt the injunctions, the ordinances, or the eſtabliſhed mode of worſhip of the church of England. The wardens of the ſtationers company were likewiſe impowered to ſearch the booksellers ſhops and the printing-houſes for ſuch works, and to bring the offenders before the eccleſiaſtical commiſſioners. Thus was the finiſhing hand put to a total ſeparation of the conſcientious Puritans from the new church of England. On the merits of the controverſy, it is difficult to make an impartial deciſion at this diſtance of time, though ſome hundreds of volumes have been publiſhed on both ſides: but we may venture one remark; that, as the difference aroſe only from external ceremonies, both parties agreeing in the fundamental doctrines of Chriſtianity, the extremes to which it was carried could only be the effect of paſſion, prejudice, and ſelfiſhneſs, which prevails to this hour, and prevents that liberality in religion which ought to be the reſult of the extenſion of human knowledge, and of the moſt refined ſentiments, that prevail all over Europe, with reſpect to other ſciences, excepting that of divinity.

The archbiſhop's zeal at length carried him beyond the limits of his duty, for he wanted to influence the

houſe of commons to ſubmit all matters concerning religion to the biſhops; but two renowned patriots of thoſe days, Mr. Strickland and Mr. Wentworth, ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this arbitrary proceeding, in which the queen was impoliticly concerned; and, after very warm debates, the commons were obliged to agree to her majeſty's pretenſions, though by no means well founded, that as ſupreme head of the church, the ordering of all things thereunto belonging, was a branch of her royal prerogative; and Mr. Wentworth, for his freedom of ſpeech in this debate, was ſent to the Tower. The queen then committed this prerogative into the hands of Parker, and the prelates of his party, who, not content with requiring ſubſcription to the thirty-nine articles, exceeded the penalties preſcribed by law for refuſal. And to crown the whole, the archbiſhop made a perſonal viſitation in the iſle of Wight, at that time chiefly inhabited by foreign Proteſtants of different perſuaſions, who had fled from Romiſh perſecution. It had been the policy of government hitherto to let theſe ſtrangers enjoy religious toleration, eſpecially as there were amongſt them many Calviniſts; but Parker having information, that not a few of the non-conforming clergy had found an aſylum, and an hoſpitable reception in this iſland, he reſolved to enforce the act of uniformity there, never thought of before, and upon meeting with almoſt a general refuſal, he deprived the clergy, and ordered the churches to be ſhut up. This intemperate zeal, when it came to be known at court, highly diſpleaſed the queen, who juſtly conſidered, that as this place was reſorted to by mariners of different nations, her reputation would ſoon ſuffer in foreign countries; where theſe proceedings would aſtoniſh the Proteſtants, and give the Roman Catholics an opportunity of retorting the charge of perſecution upon the church of England. About the ſame time the biſhop of Winchester remonſtrated, that the archbiſhop in a viſitation of his dioceſe, had infringed on his privileges, and eſtabliſhed

bliſhed an inquiſitorial power over his clergy. The council, upon theſe complaints, declared their diſapprobation of the archbiſhop's conduct, and adviſed her majeſty to order the churches to be opened in the iſle of Wight, and the miniſters to be reſtored, without ſubſcribing unleſs they did it voluntarily, which was accordingly done, and when Parker came to court, the queen publicly reprimanded him. But the miſchief was done, the ſpirit of ſuperiority, of eccleſiaſtical pride, and of diſdain for their Proteſtant brethren of different perſuaſions, which remains to this hour a reproach to the dignified clergy of the church of England as a body, had diſſeminated itſelf in all parts of the kingdom, never to be eradicated.

Parker could but ill brook any coolneſs from the queen, or her miniſtry, as he always pretended that the warmth of his zeal was for the advancement of her majeſty's honour, and the ſupport of her royal prerogative, and therefore he retired from court, and wrote a very ſharp letter to Cecil lord Burleigh, now high-treaſurer, and firſt miniſter of ſtate, expreſſing his diſcontent at the oppoſition formed againſt his meaſures, and declaring both the church and the ſtate to be in danger of diſſolution from the countenance given to the Puritans; but he did not long ſurvive this letter, for being ſeverely afflicted with the ſtone, and its common attendant the ſtranguary, he was taken off by a violent fit of the laſt, in May 1575.

This prelate, however, with all his faults, muſt be conſidered as a principal agent in adding to the luſtre of the reign of Elizabeth, by fixing the Proteſtant religion on ſuch a permanent footing, as left not the leaſt probability of the reſtoration of Popery, to which the people, from the natural inconſtancy of their diſpoſitions, ſo readily returned after the death of Edward VI. a circumſtance which will be hereafter enumerated with the reſt of the ſignal advantages obtained for this

kingdom, by her prudent and ſucceſsful adminiſtration.

His reputation as an author, and a uſeful antiquarian, ſtill preſerves his name with veneration in the learned world. He was a diligent inquirer into Saxon and Britiſh antiquities: he ſpared neither labour nor expence to collect and preſerve the writings of the moſt ancient authors of our own country, and according to Strype, one of his agents only procured for him no leſs than 6700 volumes, in four years. His controverſial works are but few and of ſmall eſtimation, but he had a conſiderable ſhare in reviſing and correcting what was called the Biſhop's Bible, which was publiſhed in 1568, and the preface to which was written by him. The archbiſhop likewiſe publiſhed editions of four of our ancient Engliſh hiſtorians; Matthew of Weſtminſter, Matthew Paris, Aſſer's Life of Alfred, and Thomas Walſingham's hiſtory from Edward I. to Henry V. with his account of Normandy. To theſe we may add, the lives of his predeceſſors the archbiſhops of Canterbury, the joint labour of Parker and Joceline, one of his chaplains. The beſt edition of this work is that publiſhed by Dr. Samuel Drake, at London, in 1729.

*** *Authorities.* Life of Matthew Parker by John Strype, M. A. Neal's Hiſtory of the Puritans. Warner's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory of England. Sir James Ware's Hiſtory of the Biſhops of Ireland. Stow's Chronicle.

THE

THE LIFE OF

SIR THOMAS GRESHAM,

MERCHANT AND CITIZEN OF LONDON.

[A. D. 1519, to 1579.]

THE revolutions in the commercial affairs of Europe form as ſtriking a picture of the glorious age of Elizabeth as thoſe of religion, with which they were at this period intimately connected; and, perhaps, there is not to be found in the hiſtory of any nation ſuch a concurrence of happy events as thoſe, which, at almoſt one and the ſame inſtant, contributed to inſure the proſperity of England, and to fix the renown of its ſovereign during this glorious æra.

It is impoſſible to illuſtrate the truth of theſe hiſtorical remarks, in more preciſe terms than thoſe of the celebrated Voltaire, in his Univerſal Hiſtory; and as he makes honourable mention of the eminent citizen and patriot, to whoſe life they are applied, the reader cannot be preſented with a more beautiful and apt introduction.

"From the firſt beginning of Elizabeth's reign, the "Engliſh applied themſelves to manufactures; the Fle- "mings being perſecuted by Philip II. king of Spain "(who permited his governor of the Low Countries, "now the Auſtrian Netherlands, to exerciſe every act "of cruelty for the extirpation of hereſy), removed to "London, bringing with them an increaſe of inhabi- "tants, induſtry, and riches. This capital, which en- "joyed the bleſſings of peace under Elizabeth, culti- "vated likewiſe the liberal arts, which are the badges "and conſequences of plenty. London was enlarged, "civilized, and embelliſhed; and, in a ſhort time, one "half of the little iſland of Great Britain was able to "counterbalance the whole power of Spain. The Eng-

" liſh now figured as the ſecond nation in the world in " induſtry, as in liberty they were the firſt; and a pri- " vate merchant in London was rich enough to build " the Royal Exchange, and to found and endow a col- " lege for the education of the children of his fellow- " citizens."

By what means England attained this acceſſion of national power, ſplendor and riches, will be developed in the life of this illuſtrious citizen, and of thoſe great ſtateſmen, warriors, and navigators, who, by their ſignal ſervices in their different ſtations of life, at once immortalized their own reputations, and aggrandiſed their native country.

Thomas Gresham was the deſcendant of an ancient family, who, according to Camden, took their name from a town ſo called in Norfolk, and this family had produced ſeveral eminent men in the earlier periods of the Britiſh hiſtory, nor was the father of this gentleman, Sir Richard Greſham, of leſs note than his anceſtors. For being fortunate in the buſineſs of a mercer, and enabled to purchaſe conſiderable eſtates, he became ſheriff of London in 1531, and recommended himſelf to Henry VIII. who conferred upon him the honour of knighthood, and made him his principal agent for the negociation of his mercantile concerns and loans at Antwerp, during his wars with France; and he was afterwards mayor. But Sir Richard is ſtill more memorable as a citizen, for obtaining the privilege for private merchants to be bankers, and to negociate bills of exchange, without applying for a ſpecial licence, which was before required, and as this privilege was firſt exerciſed by merchants reſiding in Lombard-ſtreet, this made that ſituation ſo well known afterwards for this buſineſs, and here it was that Sir Richard propoſed to build a bourſe, or exchange, but this honour, however, was reſerved for his ſon Thomas; but he purchaſed the chapel of St. Thomas of Acres, now Mercer's Chapel,

for

for that company. It is obſervable, that at this period, and long after, no perſon could belong to any other company but that of the trade he followed, which bred an attachment, friendſhip, and ſociety among citizens of the ſame trade, and occaſioned valuable donations and legacies to the ſeveral companies from their reſpective members; whereas at preſent, one of the prinpal uſes of ſuch companies is deſtroyed, for a fiſh-monger by trade may be a clothworker in his corporate capacity, a lawyer a goldſmith, and a peer a ſaddler, to the deſtruction of all order, and of the original deſign of inſtituting ſuch fraternities.

Sir Richard Greſham had two ſons, the eldeſt, John Greſham, was an eminent citizen in the reign of Edward VI. and though bred to his father's buſineſs, accompanied the protector Somerſet, in his expedition to Scotland, and was knighted by the duke on the ſpot, after the victory he obtained over the Scots in Muſſelburgh-field, in 1547. He died in the reign of queen Mary in 1560. The youngeſt ſon, our famous merchant, was born at London in 1519, and was bound apprentice to a mercer when he was very young; but he certainly did not follow the buſineſs as an apprentice; for we find him paſſing ſome years in his ſtudies at Caius-college, under the celebrated founder Dr. Caius, who, in commendation of his application and proficiency, ſtyled him *Doctiſſimus Mercator*, the very learned merchant. However, the profits of trade were then ſo great, and ſuch large eſtates had been raiſed by it in his own family, that he alſo engaged in it, and was made free of the mercer's company in 1543. It is ſuppoſed, that Mr. Greſham married about this time the daughter of William Fernley of Suffolk, relict of William Reade, Eſq. of Middleſex, for he had a ſon named Richard, in honour of his grandfather, born ſome time before the death of Sir Richard, which happened in 1548.

Sir William Danſell ſucceeded Mr. Greſham's father

as

as the king's agent at Antwerp; but by his bad management, inſtead of ſupplying the king with money, he brought him ſo conſiderably in debt, that the merchants at Antwerp would not make any farther advances, which greatly embarraſſed the king's affairs at home, and occaſioned a letter of recal, which Danſell refuſed to obey. Hereupon our merchant was ſent for by the council, and his opinion required by what means his majeſty might beſt be enabled to diſcharge the debt, amounting to 260,000l. or put it in ſuch a ſtate of liquidation and ſecurity, that his loans might go on in the uſual channel at Antwerp. His ſentiments upon this point muſt have been very ſatisfactory; for without any requeſt on his part, he was appointed agent, and removed with his family to Antwerp in 1551, where he ſoon found himſelf involved in very troubleſome and uneaſy circumſtances; but his fertile genius enabled him to extricate himſelf with great honour.---The money that had been borrowed by the late agent for the king's uſe, not being repaid at the ſtipulated times, he found himſelf under a neceſſity to procure an additional term of prolongation; but this the avaricious Flemings would by no means agree to, unleſs his majeſty would purchaſe jewels, or ſome other rich commodities, to a conſiderable amount, on which they might gain immenſe profits, beſides the intereſt, at that time rated at 16 *per cent.* on the value, till paid for.---And it deſerves the reader's notice, that the principal commerce of Antwerp, at this early period, conſiſted in the importation of diamonds, pearls, and other precious ſtones, and of wool; together with the negociation of loans of money and exchanges. The perſecution of the duke of Alva, drove the manufacturers, and the merchants trafficking in bulky commodities, moſt liable to ſeizure and confiſcation, from this ancient mart of commerce; but many of the diamond merchants, and money agents remained, whoſe deſcendants have preſerved this city from a total decline, by keeping alive the

the two branches of the diamond trade, and negociating bills of exchange, for both of which Antwerp is at this day famous, being the cheapeſt European market for jewels, and ſo remarkable, with reſpect to exchanges, that a well known merchant, or gentleman, either native or foreigner, may get a bill diſcounted, drawn on the remoteſt part of the habitable globe.

Mr. Greſham did not judge it compatible, either with the king's honour, or his own credit as his agent, to comply with the venal propoſals of the Flemings; he therefore peremptorily rejected them, and tranſmitted a plan to England for diſcharging the king's debts at Antwerp in two years. He propoſed, that the council ſhould immediately remit about 1300l. a week to a friend in their intereſt with the utmoſt privacy, and he would make ſuch a diſcretional uſe of this ſum thus thrown into the market as to prevent the artful fall of the exchange with England. The council approved his deſign, and remitted the money, with which ſum he contrived to take up 200l. every day upon his own credit, on bills of exchange drawn at double uſance on England, and thus he gained time, and negociated 72,000l. in one year. In addition to this ſcheme, he propoſed that the king ſhould take the commerce of the lead mines with Antwerp into his own hands, and iſſue a proclamation, forbidding the exportation of this article, except on the king's account, for five years.--- This meaſure being taken had the deſired effect; the king's agents ingroſſed the lead, which cauſed the price to riſe conſiderably at the Flemiſh markets, and at the enhanced value, they ſupplied Antwerp diſcretionally; ſo that by theſe two mercantile ſtratagems the balance was turned in favour of England, and the king's debts honourably diſcharged within the term propoſed by Mr. Greſham. And the credit of the crown of England, which before his time, was conſidered by the Flemiſh merchants as very ſlender, roſe to ſuch a height of reputation, that Mr. Greſham could borrow what

what ſums he thought proper, on equitable terms, either on his maſter's, or his own private credit.

The demiſe of king Edward retarded, for a time, the honours due to this great man for his eminent ſervices; for upon the acceſſion of queen Mary, he was recalled; but he had been enabled to live very comfortably as a private gentleman by the munificence of his royal maſter, who, beſides lands to the yearly value of 300l. ſettled a penſion of 100l. on him and his heirs for ever, about three weeks before he died, making uſe of theſe words, among other honourable expreſſions in the patent, "You ſhall know that you have ſerved a king."

However, his friends importuned him to preſent a memorial to the queen, ſtating the ſignal ſervices performed by his father and himſelf to the crown, in their public characters, often at the riſk of their lives and fortunes; and making particular mention of a heavy loſs ſuſtained by our merchant on his return to England, the veſſel in which his houſehold furniture, plate, and the wearing apparel of himſelf and his lady were embarked, being ſhipwrecked, and not one article ſaved; yet no indemnification had been given him for a misfortune incurred, while he was employed in the public ſervice. It appears, that this memorial procured him the reſtoration of his former employ, and other commiſſions from the queen, for the management of her affairs in the Low Countries, which are inſerted in the 15th volume of *Rymer's Fœdera*. When queen Elizabeth ſucceeded to the crown, he was one of the firſt of her loyal citizens taken into favour. She employed him ſoon after her acceſſion to buy up, and furniſh the royal arſenals with arms; and the year following, her majeſty conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and appointed him her agent in foreign parts. Being now in the higheſt eſteem with his fellow-citizens, and in great credit at court, he thought proper to fix his reſidence in the city, and to live there in a manner ſuitable to his rank and fortune: for this purpoſe, ſays *Stow*, "he

"he built that large and ſumptuous houſe for his own "dwelling on the weſt ſide of Biſhopſgate-ſtreet," which, after the demiſe of his lady, was converted into a college, purſuant to his will, called Greſham-college, and has ſince been pulled down, to build the New Exciſe Office.

But the joy which proſperity naturally inſpires was checked by a family misfortune about this time, by the ſickneſs and death of Richard Greſham his only ſon, who died in 1564.

The merchants of London ſtill continuing to meet in Lombard-ſtreet in the open air, expoſed to the inclemencies of the weather, Sir Thomas reſolved to revive his father's plan of building for them a commodious bourſe, on the plan of the bourſe at Antwerp. With this view he generouſly propoſed to his fellow-citizens, to erect this public edifice at his own expence, if the corporation would aſſign over to him a proper ſpot of ground, ſufficiently ſpacious to render it both uſeful and convenient. Such an inſtance of public munificence is but rarely to be met with, and therefore the city moſt readily and gratefully accepted this offer; in conſequence of which they purchaſed eighty houſes in Cornhill, ſituated in the three alleys, then called Swan's, New, and St. Chriſtopher's Alleys, for which the corporation paid to the ſeveral owners, in the year 1566, the ſum of 3532l. and immediately ſold the houſes under contract, to pull them down and remove the materials in three months, for the trifling ſum of 478l. This done, the ground plot was laid out at the expence of the city, and poſſeſſion given to Sir Thomas, who in the deed of aſſignment is ſtyled "Agent to the queen's highneſs;" and on the 7th of June 1567, the founder laid the firſt ſtone of the edifice, accompanied by ſome of the aldermen, who laid eight pieces of gold upon the bricks for the workmen; and after this ceremony was over they ſeemed to vie with each other in expreſſing their gratitude; for they proceeded on the building with

with ſuch amazing diligence and diſpatch, that in November the roof was covered in, and the timber work, which had been framed and fitted for putting up at Batisford near Ipſwich, was completed ſoon after.

The plan of this bourſe, or exchange, was an oblong ſquare, with piazzas on the north and ſouth ſides, ſupported by ten pillars of marble on each ſide; and thoſe on the eaſt and weſt ends were ſupported by ſeven pillars on each ſide: under theſe piazzas, ſhops to the number of 120, were neatly fitted up, which were let by Sir Thomas, upon an average, at 4l. 10s. *per annum*. Other ſhops were fitted up at firſt in the vaults under ground, but the darkneſs and damp rendered them ſo unwholeſome and inconvenient, that they were very ſoon removed, and the vaults let for ſuitable uſes. Upon four pinnacles at each corner of the roof was placed a graſshopper, the creſt of the arms of the Greſham family; and in honour of Sir Thomas, a very large graſshopper was placed on the turret of the new Royal Exchange, which ſerves likewiſe as a vane. The old building was burnt in the great fire of 1666, and the preſent noble ſtructure was erected at the joint expence of the city and of the mercers company. It coſt 80,000l. and was finiſhed in the year 1670.

Sir Thomas Greſham's exchange was intirely completed and the ſhops opened in 1569; and in January 1570, queen Elizabeth, attended by her nobility, came from Somerſet-houſe, and paſſing by Temple Bar, through Fleet-ſtreet, Cheap, and the north ſide of the new bourſe, to Sir Thomas's houſe in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, dined there, and after dinner, returning through Cornhill, entered the bourſe on the ſouth ſide, and having viewed every part thereof above ground, eſpecially the Pawn (the ranges of ſhops), which was richly furniſhed with all ſorts of the fineſt wares in the city, ſhe cauſed the bourſe, by a trumpet and a herald, to be proclaimed the ROYAL EXCHANGE, and ſo to be called from thence forth, and not otherwiſe. A ridiculous tradition

dition is handed down to this time, founded on no hiſtorical evidence whatever, that in honour of his royal viſitor, and in proof of his great wealth, Sir Thomas Greſham ordered a pearl of immenſe value to be reduced to powder, and thrown into a glaſs of wine, which he drank to the queen's health. It ſeems to have been only a poetical licence, taken from an hiſtorical play, in two acts, compoſed to compliment the queen upon two great events in her reign; the building of the Royal Exchange, and the deſtruction of the Spaniſh Armada. The lines in the drama are—

Here fifteen hundred pound at one clap goes.
Inſtead of ſugar, Greſham drinks this pearl,
Unto his queen and miſtreſs: pledge it lords.

The duke of Alva, by order of Philip II. king of Spain, prohibited, about this time, all commerce in Flanders with the Engliſh; upon which our merchants and factors left Antwerp, and retired to Hamburgh; and Cecil, then ſecretary of ſtate, apprehenſive that the merchants would not have money ſufficient to carry on their trade at their new ſettlement, where their credit was not yet eſtabliſhed, and conſequently that the import duties at home, eſpecially on woollen cloths, would fall ſhort (the queen's only reſource for diſcharging her foreign debts), communicated his ſentiments, in this embarraſſed ſituation, to Sir Thomas Greſham; who, being well acquainted with the circumſtances of the Engliſh merchants at Hamburgh, and the ſtate of their commercial tranſactions, diſpelled the miniſter's fears, by aſſuring him, that if the queen could contrive to pay the London merchants the firſt payment, being one half of her debt to them, they would thereby be enabled to make ſuch remittances to Hamburgh, as would firmly eſtabliſh the credit of the Engliſh merchants ſettled there; and before the ſecond payment, enable them to ſhip from thence for England, commodities to the amount of 100,000l. which, with

the exports for Hamburgh then ready to be ſhipped, and eſtimated at 200,000l. would produce duties to the amount of 10,000l. and remove every doubt of the queen's ability to pay her creditors.

Sir Thomas farther added, that the demand for Engliſh commodities was ſo great, that the merchants at Hamburgh would have plenty of money, as well as full credit to obtain any quantity of foreign commodities for England, after they had received the merchandiſe now ſhipping for London; but in the mean time, leſt theſe ſhould be retarded by any unforeſeen accident, he adviſed Cecil to remit money to Hamburgh, to enable them to fulfil the contracts they had made for goods ſent to England on their firſt ſettlement, before they could receive any returns: this being done, the credit of the queen and the Engliſh merchants was in ſuch high repute, that the duke of Alva who foreſaw his own ruin in that of the Flemiſh commerce, "quaked for fear." The perſecution ſet on foot by the duke of Alva has been already noticed; but beſides this ſcourge, he laid a heavy impoſition on commerce, demanding the tenth penny upon the value of all goods brought into the Low Countries for ſale, which completed the ruin of the commerce of thoſe countries, and removed it to Amſterdam, Hamburgh, and London. The prudent meaſure of procuring loans from her own ſubjects for the public ſervice was next carried into execution; but the laudable project received a conſiderable check at firſt from the corporation of Merchants Adventurers, who, at a general court, rejected the queen's demand of a loan, which the queen highly reſented, in a letter written by Cecil to the company at her expreſs command; however, the ſum being only 16,000l. was obtained through Greſham's intereſt in the city from ſome of the aldermen, and other merchants, at *ſix per cent.* for ſix months; and at the expiration of that term a prolongation was readily agreed to. This happened in the year 1572, and is a revolution in the finance operations of government, which adds another wreath of fame to the annals of this reign.

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To remedy the ſcarcity of ſilver coin, which obſtructed inland trade, our patriotic merchant, ever zealous in the ſervice of his country, knowing that one Reggio, an Italian merchant, had lodged thirty thouſand Flemiſh ducatoons in the Tower for ſecurity, and that he had likewiſe a conſiderable quantity of the ſame pieces in the hands of private friends in London, adviſed the queen to purchaſe them of Reggio, and to coin them into Engliſh ſhillings and ſixpences, by which ſhe would gain three or four thouſand pounds, and keep all this fine ſilver in her realm (many of theſe ſhillings and ſixpences are ſtill to be met with in the cabinets of the curious in high preſervation). The ducatoons were accordingly purchaſed of the Italian, and the queen borrowed the amount of the London merchants for two years, at moderate intereſt. At the ſame time Sir Thomas ſent five ſacks of new Spaniſh ryals, his own property, to the Mint; and this example encouraged others, ſo that when the new coinage was iſſued, ſilver currency became very plentiful at home, and the greateſt part of the queen's debts in Flanders were paid with it; the reſidue being ſoon after remitted in bills of exchange on Hamburgh, to the great honour of the queen, and the farther advancement of the commercial credit of the kingdom in foreign countries.

Theſe wiſe regulations of courſe aboliſhed the office of queen's agent for money matters in foreign parts; but the queen, to ſhew her high regard for Sir Thomas Greſham, and that he might not loſe the dignity of a public character in the city, put him into the commiſſion with the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the biſhop of London, and ſome lords of the council, who, in this reign, were uſually appointed aſſiſtants to the lord-mayor in the government of the city, during the queen's ſummer progreſſes through the kingdom. This honour he held as occaſion required, from 1572 to 1578.

Sir Thomas Greſham's active life would not permit

him to be long abſent from the buſtle of the mercantile world; he loved to viſit his favourite exchange, and to aſſociate with merchants: upon which account, he would not retire to any of the conſiderable eſtates he had purchaſed in the remoter counties, but built a magnificent ſeat at Oſterley Park, near Brentford in Middleſex.

Here he indulged himſelf with ſhort intervals of relaxation, but his mind was always ſo full of plans for the public good, and the promotion of uſeful induſtry, that even here he mixed utility with recreation, and made buſineſs part of his amuſement: for within his park he erected paper, oil, and corn mills, thus finding conſtant employment for various ſorts of workmen, who were conſtantly devoted to his ſervice, he being likewiſe a liberal maſter. Their is a ſtory concerning this ſeat of Sir Thomas Greſham's, which is related as a pleaſant inſtance of his great activity and diſpatch, in any thing he was determined to effect. It is related by Fuller, in his Worthies of Middleſex. According to him, "Queen Elizabeth, having been once very magnificently entertained and lodged at Oſterley Park, ſhe found fault with the court before it, as being too large, and ſaid it would appear better, if divided by a wall in the middle: he took the hint, and ſent for workmen from London, who in the night built up the wall with ſuch privacy and expedition, that the next morning the queen, to her great ſurpriſe, found the court divided in the manner ſhe had propoſed the day before."

The greateſt part of the very ample fortune which Sir Thomas Greſham had acquired by his cloſe application to, and conſummate ſkill in mercantile tranſactions, he now reſolved to devote to the benefit of his fellow-citizens, and their children's children, having no legitimate heir to inherit it after his deceaſe. He had indeed a natural daughter, by a Flemiſh woman, while he reſided at Bruges in Flanders; but having given her

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in marriage to Nathaniel Bacon, the ſecond ſon of the lord-keeper of the great-ſeal, with a portion ſuitable to his own circumſtances, and the rank of the gentleman who had married her, he thought himſelf free from all family claims, after he had made a comfortable proviſion for his lady, in caſe ſhe ſurvived him. Accordingly, he made no ſecret of his laudable deſign, to have his manſion-houſe (as it was then called) converted into a college, for the profeſſion of the ſeven liberal ſciences, and to endow it with the revenues of the Royal Exchange, after his own and his lady's deceaſe. As ſoon as this was known, the univerſity of Cambridge, at which place he had been educated, ordered their public orator, Mr. Richard Bridgewater, to write him an elegant Latin letter, reminding him of a promiſe he had formerly made (as the univerſity were informed) to give them 500l. either towards building a new college, or repairing an old one at Cambridge, for the ſame purpoſes. This letter was expedited the beginning of March 1575: and before the end of the month they wrote him another, acquainting him, that they had heard, he had poſitively declared his intention of founding a college to lady Burleigh; and as there were but three convenient ſituations, in their opinion, for ſuch a foundation, London, Oxford, and Cambridge, they hoped a ſuperior regard for Cambridge would determine him to give that univerſity the preference. At the ſame time, they wrote to lady Burleigh, requeſting her intereſt with him upon this occaſion. But theſe letters failed of the deſired effect, owing to very juſt and prudent cauſes. London, at that time, had no ſimilar inſtitution, and the want of liberal education made the principal merchants obſtinate and tenacious of every idle prejudice adopted from cuſtom. This Sir Thomas had experienced, in the trouble they had given him, by oppoſing his very rational plan of eſtabliſhing a reciprocal union of intereſts and attachment between them and the government, by ſupplying the public

loans inſtead of foreigners. Another motive, undoubtedly, was that immortal fame, which every public-ſpirited, every good citizen ſhould have in view, whereby, as he was venerated while living, ſo, in after-ages, his memory might be gratefully preſerved in that community of which he was a reſpectable member.

Perſiſting therefore in the reſolution of fixing the college in his dwelling-houſe, he executed a deed of ſettlement, dated May 20. 1575, diſpoſing of his ſeveral manors, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, with ſuch limitations and reſtrictions, particularly as to the Royal Exchange, and his houſe in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, as might beſt ſecure his views with reſpect to the purpoſes for which they were intended. This deed, which was an indenture quadripartite, was ſucceeded by two wills, the one bearing date July 4. and the other the following day, of the ſame year; by the firſt he bequeaths to his wife, whom he appoints his ſole executrix, all his perſonal eſtate, conſiſting of caſh, plate, jewels; chains of gold, and flocks of ſheep, with other cattle, except ſeveral legacies to his relations, friends, and ſervants, amounting to upwards of 2000l. and a few ſmall annuities. By the ſecond, he gives one moiety of the Royal Exchange to the mayor and commonalty of the city of London; and the other to the mercers company, for the ſalaries of ſeven profeſſors, one for each of the liberal ſciences, to be choſen by them, "being meet and ſufficiently learned," to read public lectures in divinity, law, phyſic, aſtronomy, geometry, muſic, and rhetoric, for which they are to receive a ſalary of 50l. *per annum*, and to be provided with apartments for their reſidence in his ſaid manſion-houſe. He likewiſe bequeaths 53l. 6s. 8d. yearly, to be divided equally between poor perſons, inhabiting the like number of almshouſes built by him, behind his houſe. Alſo 10l. *per annum* to the priſons of Newgate, Ludgate, the King's-bench, the Marſhalſea, and the two Compters; with the like annuity to the hoſpitals of Chriſt, St. Bartholomew,

lomew, Bedlam and St. Thomas. Alſo 100l. annually, to provide a dinner for the whole company of mercers in their hall, on every quarter-day, at 25l. for each dinner. Theſe diſpoſitions were made conformably to the produce of the rents of the Royal Exchange, and the fines for alienations, which exceeded at the time the annual payments appointed by the will; ſo that the two corporations had more than ſufficient inveſtments for the truſts they were to execute. But as the lady Anne, his wife, was to enjoy the manſion, and the rents of the Royal Exchange, for her life, in caſe ſhe ſurvived him, they were both veſted (after her deceaſe) in the two corporations for the term of fifty years; which limitation was made on account of the ſtatutes of *Mortmain*, prohibiting the alienation of lands or tenements to any corporation, without licence firſt obtained from the crown; the procuring of which the teſtator not only recommended in the ſtrongeſt terms, but by a prudential clauſe in ſome meaſure ſecured; for the eſtates were to revert to his heirs at law, if no licence was obtained within the time limited. The two corporations, however, in conformity to the conditions, of their truſt, applied for a patent, which was granted to them by James I. in the year 1614, to hold the bequeathed eſtates for ever, for the uſes declared in the will.

His worldly concerns being thus adjuſted in a manner that could not but afford him much ſecret ſatisfaction, and the moſt pleaſing reflections, it is moſt probable, that he lived a retired life, enjoying the happy tranquillity, which affluence, acquired by honeſt induſtry, and peace of mind, the reſult of pious and benevolent actions, always afford; for no particular memoirs of the four laſt years of his life are handed down to us. All the account we have of him, after the year 1575, is, that on the 29th of November 1579, this great and good man was taken off in an apoplectic fit. Hollingſhed ſays, "that coming from the Royal Exchange to his houſe in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, he ſuddenly fell down in

in the kitchen, and being taken up was found ſpeechleſs, and preſently died."

By his death, many large eſtates in ſeveral counties of England, amounting to the yearly value of 2388l. an amazing income in thoſe days, devolved to his lady for her life; and as ſhe ſurvived him many years, this accounts for the late date of the patent to the corporations, lady Greſham reſiding in winter at the manſion-houſe in Biſhopſgate-ſtreet, and in ſummer at Oſterley Park.

His obſequies were performed in a public and ſolemn manner, and his charitable works followed him to his very grave; for he had ordered by his will, that his corpſe ſhould be attended by one hundred poor men, and the ſame number of poor women, clothed in black cloth gowns, at his expence. His remains were depoſited at the north-eaſt corner of St. Helen's, his pariſh-church, in a vault which he had long ſince provided for himſelf and family. The funeral charges amounted to 800l. Over the vault is a large, curious marble tomb, on the ſouth and weſt ſides of which are his own arms, and on the north and eaſt, the ſame empaled with thoſe of his lady; the arms of Sir Thomas, with thoſe of the city of London, and of the mercer's company, are likewiſe painted on glaſs, in the eaſt window of the church, above the tomb, which remained without any inſcription upon it till the year 1736, when, for the information of the curious, the following words, taken from the pariſh-regiſter, were cut on the ſtone that covers it: *Sir Thomas Greſham, Knight, was buried* December 15. 1579.

To the copious account already given of the principal events in the life of this generous citizen, we have only to add, from Ward's ſummary of his character, the following particulars. He was well acquainted with the ancient and ſeveral modern languages, and he was a liberal patron to learned men, both natives and foreigners, which is acknowledged in the dedications of their

their works to him, by different authors, particularly by John Fox, the celebrated martyrologiſt; Hugh Goughe, writer of the hiſtory of the Ottoman Turks, &c. He tranſacted queen Elizabeth's affairs ſo conſtantly, that he was commonly called, "The Royal Merchant." And he had the very ſingular honour, upon many occaſions, to be appointed to receive foreign princes on their firſt arrival in England, and to entertain them at his houſe till they were preſented at court. In fine, having no ſon to keep up his name, he took the moſt effectual method to perpetuate it, in the higheſt degree of grateful veneration, as long as the city of London exiſts as a corporation.

*** *Authorities.* Camden's Britan. edit. 1720. Journal of Edward VI. of his own writing, in the Cotton Library at the Muſeum. Rymer's Fœdera, vol. XV. Ward's Life of Greſham.

THE LIFE OF

ROBERT DUDLEY,

EARL OF LEICESTER.

[A. D. 1532, to 1588.]

Including Memoirs of Sir PHILIP SYDNEY, and Sir ROBERT DUDLEY.

SOME mention has already been made of this nobleman, in the life of the duke of Northumberland, vol. I. p. 180. It is therefore only neceſſary to add, as to the juvenile part of his life, that he was the duke's fifth ſon, by Jane, the daughter and heireſs of Sir Edward Guilford. The exact time of his birth is not recorded, but it is ſuppoſed to have been in the year 1532; and in the year 1550, he was married to Amy, the

the daughter of Sir John Roſbart, when, as a compliment to his father, the king was preſent at the nuptials; and it is remarkable, that from early youth to the laſt hour of his life, he was a ſucceſsful courtier. Upon the king's death, he engaged with his father, in ſupport of lady Jane Grey's title to the crown, and attended upon him in his expedition into Norfolk; but upon the duke's being arreſted at Cambridge, he fled to queen Mary's camp, and ſurrendered; from whence he was brought up priſoner to London, and confined in the Tower, on the twenty-ſixth of July 1553, and on the fifteenth of January following was arraigned for high-treaſon at the Guildhall of London, confeſſed the indictment, and was adjudged by the earl of Suſſex to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. But the lords interceding for him with the queen, ſhe reſtored him and his brethren (except the lord Guilford), in blood, received him into favour, and made him maſter of the Engliſh ordnance at the ſiege of St. Quintin, in 1557.

As ſoon as queen Elizabeth aſcended the throne, ſhe advanced him to one of the higheſt poſts of honour near her perſon, making him her maſter of the horſe, and in the ſecond year of her reign, to the great ſurpriſe of his rival courtiers, her majeſty advanced him to the dignity of privy-counſellor, and honoured him with the noble order of the garter.

Encouraged by theſe favours, he gave into the opinion, that, if he could get rid of his wife, he need not deſpair of ſoon rendering himſelf perſonally agreeable to her majeſty. The lady was diſpatched into the country, to the houſe of one of his dependents, where, it is ſaid, he firſt attempted to have taken her off by poiſon; but, failing in this deſign, he cauſed her to be thrown down from the top of a ſtair-caſe, and murdered by the fall. She was at firſt obſcurely buried, but that having given occaſion to cenſure, he ordered her body to be taken up, and ſhe was interred again in St. Mary's Church at Oxford, with all imaginable pomp and ſolemnity.

Ambition,

Ambition and luſt were the ruling paſſions of Dudley; and his perſonal accompliſhments, derived both from nature and polite education, inſpired him with conſummate vanity: nor muſt Elizabeth paſs uncenſured, for it appears, that even before the death of his wife, ſhe exceeded the bounds of female decorum in her conduct towards him, inſomuch, that at foreign courts her reputation was but ſlightly treated, and her ambaſſadors complained of it, in their diſpatches to the miniſtry at home. But after this tragical event, it was obſerved, that he met with a more favourable reception than ever from the queen: and though ſhe did not openly countenance his pretenſions of marriage, yet ſhe ſeemed not at all diſpleaſed with the overture; and when her marriage with him was moved by the French ambaſſador, ſhe only objected that he was not of the royal blood, nor could ſhe think of raiſing a dependent to the rank of a companion. But envy and hatred are the ſure attendants upon greatneſs; and Dudley, by being thus diſtinguiſhed above the reſt in her majeſty's favour, drew upon himſelf the odium of the courtiers. Yet it muſt be noticed, in juſtice to the queen's political character, that notwithſtanding her blameable partiality to him as a favourite, which ſometimes gave him a prevailing intereſt at the council-board, ſhe never confided to him the general adminiſtration of affairs; and this may be accounted for, by admitting that Cecil's great abilities as a ſtateſman enabled him to undermine the voluptuous Dudley, whoſe ſenſuality checked the progreſs of his ambition. Yet his ſkilful antagoniſt, that he might ſeem to gratify him even in this paſſion, while he was attempting either his removal from court, or a diminution of his influence, ſuggeſted to her majeſty the propriety of a match between Dudley and Mary queen of Scots, then about to form a foreign alliance, which muſt be prejudicial to England. The crown of Scotland in poſſeſſion, and the right of inheritance to the crown of England, were moſt alluring baits; and

Cecil

Cecil knew, that ſhould he be over-earneſt in the purſuit of the match propoſed, he would be infallibly loſt in the good graces of the queen; at the ſame time, he was under no apprehenſion, from the known temper of the queen of Scots, that a perſon of his lordſhip's extraction could ever render himſelf acceptable to her, in the character of a huſband. Elizabeth, whatever was her motive, gave ear to this propoſal, and ſent immediate inſtructions to Randolph, her ambaſſador in Scotland, to open the matter to Mary; but that queen reſolved to reject the offer, though ſhe feared to come to an open rupture with Elizabeth. She diſpatched Sir James Melvil to London, with inſtructions full of friendlineſs and regard. But when Elizabeth inquired if the queen of Scots had ſent any anſwer to the propoſition of marriage ſhe had made her, the ambaſſador gave an evaſive anſwer. Her majeſty then entered upon the commendation of lord Robert Dudley, declared ſhe would marry him herſelf, if ſhe had not been determined to end her days in virginity; and ſhe farther told Sir James Melvil, "ſhe wiſhed that the queen her ſiſter might marry him, as meeteſt of all others with whom ſhe could find in her heart to declare her ſecond perſon. For being matched with him, it would beſt remove out of her mind all fears and ſuſpicions to be offended by any uſurpation before her death; being aſſured, that he was ſo loving and truſty, that he would never permit any ſuch thing to be attempted during her time." In the courſe of this curious converſation, given at large by Sir James Melvil, in his memoirs, Sir James had named the earl of Bedford as firſt commiſſioner to be ſent to Scotland, to ſettle all differences between the two crowns; and lord Robert Dudley only as his ſecond. The queen took fire at this, vowed ſhe would make him a far greater earl than Bedford, and deſired the ambaſſador to ſtay till he ſhould ſee him made earl of Leiceſter, and baron Denbigh, which

which was accordingly done at Weſtminſter on the 29th of September 1564, with great ſolemnity, the queen herſelf aſſiſting at the ceremony, and helping to put on ſome of his robes. And not long after, upon the reſignation of Sir J. Maſon, he was made chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford.

The earl, however, ſeemed now rather to decline the match, than deſire it; he excuſed himſelf to the Scottiſh ambaſſador, from having ever entertained ſo proud a pretence, declared his ſenſe of his own unworthineſs, and begged her majeſty would not be offended, nor impute a matter to him, which the malice of his enemies had deviſed for his deſtruction. Within a few days after, Sir James Melvil obtained his diſpatch, with a more ample declaration of the queen's mind, upon the ſubject of his embaſſy.

In the mean time, the earl of Leiceſter wrote letters to the earl of Murray to excuſe him to the queen of Scots. And that he might the better recommend himſelf at court, by ſhewing his zeal in the ſervice of his royal miſtreſs, he accuſed Sir Nicholas Bacon to Elizabeth, that he had intermeddled in the affair of the ſucceſſion, and aſſiſted in the publication of a book againſt the queen of Scots title. The queen was highly offended, the author, Hales, was taken up and impriſoned, and Sir Nicholas Bacon would have infallibly loſt his office, if Leiceſter could have perſuaded Sir Anthony Brown to have accepted it.

In November following, the earl of Bedford and Mr. Randolph, the earl of Murray, and ſecretary Lidington, commiſſioners on both ſides, met near Berwick, to treat of the marriage, but with ſlenderer offers, and leſs effectual dealing, than was expected. The earl of Leiceſter's behaviour, and the prudence and diſcretion which appeared in the letters he had written to the earl of Murray, had made an impreſſion upon the queen of Scots, and ſhe ſeemed ſo far to approve of the match, that queen Elizabeth began to be afraid it might take effect.

Under theſe apprehenſions, and at the ſolicitation of ſecretary Cecil, ſhe permitted lord Darnley to take a journey into Scotland, in hope, that his preſence might be more prevalent than Leiceſter's abſence. And the earl of Leiceſter, perceiving the queen's inclination, wrote private letters to the earl of Bedford, to deſiſt from proſecuting his propoſed match any farther. The queen of Scots was ſoon after ſolemnly married to lord Darnley, in the royal chapel of Holyrood-houſe, and the next day he was publicly proclaimed king, and aſſociated with her majeſty in the government.

In 1565, application was again made to queen Elizabeth, to think ſeriouſly of marriage, by this means to weaken the party of the queen of Scots in England, and to ſtrengthen the intereſt of the Proteſtant religion. The emperor Maximilian propoſed his brother, the archduke Charles, with very honourable conditions. The earl of Suſſex favoured the match; but Leiceſter, preſuming upon his power with the queen, took pains to prevent it. This oppoſition was ill digeſted by the earl of Suſſex, who was of an high ſpirit, and nobly deſcended. The honeſty of his nature led him to a profeſſed enmity, which divided the whole court; and whenever the two earls went abroad, they were attended with a retinue of armed followers: inſomuch, that the queen was obliged to interpoſe her authority to make up the breach: but Suſſex continued his averſion till his death; and, in his laſt ſickneſs, is ſaid to have addreſſed his friends to this purpoſe: "I am now paſſing into another world, and muſt leave you to your fortunes, and to the queen's grace and goodneſs; but beware of the gypſie (meaning Leiceſter) for he will be too hard for you all; you know not the beaſt ſo well as I do."

The ground of this quarrel, however, is more fully explained in Cecil lord Burleigh's papers, wherein it appears, that the queen permitted it to be debated in council, Whether ſhe ſhould marry the archduke or Leiceſter?

Leiceſter? Suſſex and his friends drew up the reaſons why ſhe ſhould not marry Leiceſter. And from this very meaſure we may judge of the real intentions of Elizabeth, which were to gain the conſent of Mary and her miniſters to the propoſed match between the queen of Scots and Leiceſter, that it might not appear derogatory to her honour to marry him after another queen had agreed to accept his hand; but the Engliſh council prudently over-ruled her ſecret inclinations.

We have already obſerved, that the earl of Leiceſter was made chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford, towards the end of the preceding year. At this æra, the univerſity was in a moſt deplorable condition: their diſcipline had long been neglected, and their learning moſt miſerably impoveriſhed. The whole univerſity could furniſh only three preachers; and, in the abſence of two of them, the audience was frequently put off with very lame performances. To give the reader an inſtance: the congregation being one Sunday deſtitute of a preacher, Taverner of Woodeaton, the ſheriff of the county, enters St. Mary's, with his ſword by his ſide, and his gold chain about his neck, mounts the pulpit, and harangues the ſcholars in the following ſtrain: "Arriving at the mount of St. Mary's in the ſtony ſtage, where I now ſtand, I have brought you ſome fine biſcuits, baked in the oven of charity, carefully conſerved for the chickens of the church, the ſparrows of the ſpirit, and the ſweet ſwallows of ſalvation." This Taverner, it ſeems, had been brought up in the cardinal's college, was an inceptor in arts, and in deacon's orders, and a perſon at that time in eſteem for his learning in the univerſity; ſo that, from this ſpecimen, it appears to how low a character their ſtudies were reduced.

The earl of Leiceſter laboured by all poſſible means to introduce an improvement in literature, and give a new turn to the face of affairs in the univerſity. By his letters he recommended to them the practice of reli-

gion and learning, and preſſed them to a more cloſe obſervance of their duty. This application was not without its effect; proviſion was immediately made for reforming abuſes in graces and diſpenſations, lectures and public exerciſes were enforced by ſtatute, and the habits brought under regulation; the earl continuing to patronize and regulate the univerſity upon every occaſion.

In the beginning of the year 1566, Monſieur Ramboullet was diſpatched into England to queen Elizabeth, by Charles IX. king of France, with the order of St. Michael, to be conferred on two Engliſh noblemen, ſuch as ſhould be moſt agreeable to her majeſty. The queen made choice of the duke of Norfolk and the earl of Leiceſter; the one diſtinguiſhed by his high birth, and the other by her majeſty's favour. And on the twenty-fourth of January, they were inveſted in the royal chapel at Whitehall, with very great ſolemnity; no Engliſhman having ever been admitted before into this order, except king Henry VIII. king Edward VI. and Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk.

This ſummer, the queen made her firſt progreſs into the country, a laudable cuſtom, which ſhe afterwards kept up, the greateſt part of her reign; and upon her return ſhe viſited Oxford. She was attended by the earl of Leiceſter, who, previouſly informing the univerſity of her deſign, deſired they would conſult their own credit upon this occaſion, and make an honourable proviſion for her majeſty's reception. On the twenty-ninth of Auguſt, his lordſhip, with ſome others of the nobility, were diſpatched before by her majeſty, to give notice, that ſhe would be there within two days. The vice-chancellor and the heads of houſes came out to meet them on horſeback, and entertained them with Latin orations, addreſſed to their chancellor and ſecretary Cecil. And in the afternoon the lords returned to Woodſtock, where the court lay, and expreſſed their ſatisfaction at their honourable reception.

On

On the thirty-firſt of Auguſt, in the forenoon, the earls of Leiceſter and Huntingdon were preſent at Dr. Humphreys's lectures in the ſchools, who read as queen's profeſſor in divinity, and then they attended at the public diſputations. Towards evening, as her majeſty approached, ſhe was met at Wolvercote, where the juriſdiction of the univerſity ends, by the chancellor the earl of Leiceſter, by four doctors, and the vice-chancellor, in their ſcarlet robes and hoods; and by eight maſters of arts, who were heads of colleges or halls. The chancellor then delivered the ſtaffs of the three ſuperior beadles into her Majeſty's hand; and, having received them again from her, and likewiſe reſtored them to their reſpective officers, the canon of Chriſt-church made an elegant ſpeech to her majeſty upon the occaſion. She then held out her hand to the orator and the doctors, and as Dr. Humphreys drew near to kiſs it, "Mr. Doctor (ſaid the queen), ſmiling, that looſe gown becomes you mighty well, I wonder your notions ſhould be ſo narrow." This Humphreys, it ſeems, was at the head of the Puritan party, and had oppoſed the eccleſiaſtical habits with violent zeal.

As ſhe entered the town, the ſtreets were lined with ſcholars from Bocardo to Quatervois, who, as her majeſty paſſed along, fell down upon their knees, and with one voice cried out, "Long live the queen!" At Quatervois the Greek profeſſor addreſſed her majeſty in a Greek oration, and the queen anſwered him in the ſame language, and commended his performance. From hence ſhe was conveyed with the like pomp to Chriſt-church, where ſhe was received by Mr. Kinſmill, the public orator; who, in the name of the univerſity, congratulated her majeſty on her arrival among them.

For ſeven days together the queen was magnificently entertained by the univerſity, and expreſſed an extreme delight in the lectures, diſputations, public exerciſes, and ſhews; which ſhe conſtantly heard and ſaw. On the ſixth day ſhe declared her ſatisfaction in a Latin

ſpeech, and aſſured them of her favour and protection. The day after ſhe took her leave, and was conducted by the heads as far as Shotover-hill, when the earl of Leiceſter gave her notice, that they had accompanied her to the limits of their juriſdiction. Mr. Roger Marbeck then made an oration to her majeſty, and having laid open the difficulties under which learning had formerly laboured, he gratefully acknowledged the encouragements it had lately received, and the proſpect of its ariſing to a ſuperior degree of ſplendor under her majeſty's moſt gracious adminiſtration. The queen heard him with pleaſure, and returned a very favourable anſwer; and caſting her eyes back upon Oxford, with all poſſible marks of tenderneſs and affection, ſhe bade him farewell. Here it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the queen's countenance, and the earl of Leiceſter's care, had ſuch an effect upon the diligence of this learned body, that, within a few years after, it produced more eminent men in every branch of ſcience, than in any preceding age.

Upon the queen's return to London, the parliament met on the firſt of November, fell into warm debates, and ſeemed reſolved to inſiſt upon her majeſty's immediate marriage, or the declaration of a ſucceſſor. The earl of Leiceſter had earneſtly ſupported the title of the queen of Scots; but, not meeting with the ſucceſs he deſired, he ſaid that an huſband ought to be impoſed on the queen, or a ſucceſſor appointed by parliament againſt her inclination. Wherein he was openly joined by the earl of Pembroke, and privately by the duke of Norfolk. But the queen was highly incenſed at this behaviour, and, for ſome time, they were all excluded the preſence-chamber, and prohibited acceſs to her perſon: however, it was not long before they ſubmitted, and obtained her majeſty's pardon.

During this diſgrace, Leiceſter is charged with having entered into a traitorous correſpondence with the Iriſh, who had juſt before broken out into an open rebellion.

bellion. His letters are ſaid to have been found upon a perſon of diſtinction, who was killed in battle; but before the diſcovery could be made, he was reconciled to the queen, and placed above the reach of any private accuſation.

The next year, count Stolberg was diſpatched into England, by the emperor, to renew the treaty of marriage between his brother, the archduke Charles, and the queen. The earl of Suſſex had not long before been ſent to his imperial majeſty upon this ſubject, and had uſed his utmoſt efforts that her majeſty might be married to a foreign prince; but Leiceſter took care to ſupplant him in his deſigns, and privately engaged the lord North, who attended him in his journey, to be a ſpy upon his actions, and to break the meaſures he ſhould enter into, by adverſe inſinuations. In the mean time, he diſcouraged her majeſty from the attempt, by laying before her the inconveniences that would neceſſarily ariſe from a foreign match: and the archduke, not long after, married the daughter of the duke of Bavaria; and Leiceſter was now no longer under any apprehenſion that the queen would marry a foreigner. Indeed, the difficulties with reſpect to religion were a ſufficient bar, if no other impediment had ſtood in the way, to the ſucceſs of future negociations, as it had been in the caſe of the archduke.

In 1568, the queen of Scots fled into England; and Leiceſter appears to have continued ſtrongly attached to her intereſt. He even ſtands charged with having entered into a conſpiracy againſt ſecretary Cecil, becauſe he ſuſpected him to favour the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Suffolk.

Mary at this period was a widow for the third time, her ſecond huſband, lord Darnley, having been firſt murdered, as it is conjectured, and then blown up by gunpowder, with all his attendants, at his hunting-ſeat, in 1566: Bothwell, the ſuppoſed chief conſpirator, and the queen's favourite, was tried for the murder, but by her

her influence acquitted; and that no room might be left to doubt who was the real contriver of this foul treaſon, Mary married Bothwell ſoon after; upon which the earl of Murray, and other lords, raiſed an army againſt her, took her priſoner, and obliged her to reſign her crown to her ſon, by lord Darnley, an infant of thirteen months old, who was thereupon crowned by the title of James VI. and Murray was appointed regent. As to Bothwell, he fled to Denmark, where he died obſcurely, and Mary eſcaping, took refuge in England.

Here Leiceſter contrived a new plan to reſtore the unfortunate, guilty queen, by propoſing a marriage between her and the duke of Norfolk. He took upon him to propound the matter to the duke; extenuated the crimes ſhe was accuſed of; and wrote letters to Mary in commendation of Norfolk; in which he earneſtly perſuaded her to approve of the marriage: and, farther, he drew up certain articles, which he ſent to her by the biſhop of Roſſe, promiſing, upon her acceptance of the propoſed conditions, to procure for her the crown of Scotland in preſent poſſeſſion, and the crown of England in reverſion.

Whilſt affairs were in this ſituation, and the earl of Leiceſter was waiting for a convenient opportunity of opening the deſign to his miſtreſs, the earl of Murray ſent ſecret advice to her majeſty of the whole tranſaction, and charged the duke of Norfolk with having engaged in private practices to get the preſent poſſeſſion of the two crowns by means of this marriage. This report, though very foreign to the duke's inclinations, was ſupported by circumſtantial evidence, and raiſed the queen's jealouſy, to a high degree, againſt the duke and the lords that were concerned with him: which when Norfolk underſtood, he would have perſuaded the earl to impart the ſcheme to her majeſty without delay. But Leiceſter put it off from time to time, till, at length falling ſick at Titchfield, or, at leaſt, pretending ſickneſs (for he was a complete maſter of the court-

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ly art of diſſimulation), and being there viſited by Elizabeth, he declared the whole matter to her, begging forgiveneſs with ſighs and tears: and, not long after, the duke and the lords being taken into cuſtody, the earl of Leiceſter was examined before the queen and council; where he gave ſuch an account of his proceedings, and behaved in ſuch a manner, that he eaſily obtained her majeſty's pardon.

In 1571, died, in a ſtrange manner, Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who had been at the head of Leiceſter's party, againſt Cecil, ſecretary of ſtate, but had lately gone over to him. Being at Leiceſter's houſe, as he was at ſupper, he was ſeized, in a moſt violent manner, with an impoſthumation in his lungs, and died in a few days, but not without ſuſpicion of poiſon. It is ſaid, that, on his changing ſides, the earl was apprehenſive he might make a diſcovery of his ſecret practices, and for this reaſon took care to diſpatch him. He likewiſe bore him a ſecret grudge for a former meſſage ſent over to queen Elizabeth, whilſt her ambaſſador in France, that he had heard it reported at the duke of Montmorency's table, that her majeſty was about to marry her horſe-keeper, meaning Leiceſter, her maſter of the horſe.

The day before his death, Throgmorton is ſaid to have declared the cauſe of his diſtemper to be a poiſoned ſallad he eat at the earl's; and he broke out into bitter invectives againſt his cruelty. The earl, however, made a mighty ſhew of lamentation over him; and, in a letter to Sir Francis Walſingham, then ambaſſador in France, he thus expreſſes himſelf upon the occaſion. "We have loſt, on Monday, our good friend Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, who died in my houſe, being there taken ſuddenly in great extremity on Tueſday before. His lungs were periſhed, but a ſudden cold he had taken was the cauſe of his ſpeedy death. God hath his ſoul; and we, his friends, great loſs of his body."

About this time, a marriage was propoſed between queen Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou; and the earl

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of Leiceſter is ſaid to have laid aſide his pretenſions to the queen upon this occaſion, and to have ſolicited the marriage with zeal. But this is not probable; and it appears, that when the duke of Anjou inſiſted upon a toleration in the exerciſe of his own religion, the queen abſolutely refuſed to comply.

With a view to prevent any farther attempts in favour of the queen of Scots, a law was now made, prohibiting, under a ſevere penalty, the declaring any perſon whatſoever to be heir or ſucceſſor of the queen, except it were the natural iſſue of her body. This expreſſion, as it was uncuſtomary in ſtatutes of this kind, and the term *natural* was uſually applied by the lawyers to ſuch children as were born out of wedlock, gave great occaſion to cenſure: and loud clamours were raiſed againſt Leiceſter, as if, by inſerting this clauſe in the ſtatute, he had deſigned to involve the realm in new diſputes about the ſucceſſion. It was urged, that no poſſible reaſon could be imagined, why the uſual form of *lawful* iſſue ſhould be changed into *natural* iſſue, unleſs with a view to reflect upon the honour of her majeſty, and to obtrude hereafter upon the Engliſh ſome baſtard ſon of his own, as the *natural* iſſue of the queen.

From this time, it appears, that Leiceſter was univerſally deteſted, and very juſtly; for his pride and venality offended all the great officers of ſtate, and his other crimes drew upon him the odium of the people. He had quarrelled openly with archbiſhop Parker, and the biſhop of London, for refuſing to grant a diſpenſation for a child to hold a valuable benefice, whoſe father had bribed Leiceſter to obtain this favour. He had likewiſe private gifts on the diſpoſal of biſhopricks, beſides many lucrative grants from the crown. In conſequence of his favour with the queen, he carried his inſolence to ſuch a pitch to other courtiers, that even in her preſence he treated them with great indignity. A privy-counſellor, we are told, unable to contain his reſentment at ſuch uſage, ſtruck him; upon which the queen

queen told him, "he had forfeited his hand;" but the gentleman, with great preſence of mind, and noble intrepidity, "intreated her majeſty to ſuſpend this judgment, till the traitor, who better deſerved it, had loſt his head."

The year 1572 is but too fatally memorable, for the barbarous maſſacre of Paris, called the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, becauſe the bloody buſineſs commenced on the eve of St. Bartholomew. This plot was laid with as deep diſſimulation, as the action itſelf was horrid; and whether we conſider the high dignity of the perſons who projected it, the high rank of the victims ſacrificed to bigotry, or the innocence of the ſlaughtered multitude, we ſhall find no traces in modern hiſtory of ſuch examples of perfidy and cruelty as Charles IX. Catharine of Medicis his mother, and Pope Gregory XIII. the perpetrators of this inhuman butchery.

The particulars in brief ought to find a place in all memoirs of theſe times, written by Proteſtants, at the remoteſt ages, from the melancholy event; that they may never loſe ſight of thoſe maxims of diſſimulation, conſtantly practiſed by the church of Rome, to conceal her hatred of, and cruelty to the profeſſors of the reformed religion of every denomination. The queen-dowager of Navarre was decoyed to Paris, by a propoſal of marriage between her ſon, afterwards Henry IV. of France, and the princeſs Margaret, ſiſter to Charles IX. The ſame pretext drew thither Henry prince of Bearn, and his uncle the prince of Condé. The famous admiral of France, Coligni, was invited by the king, with a promiſe to declare him his general in a war againſt Spain; and the other chiefs of the Huguenots (French Proteſtants) depending upon the peace that had been lately granted them, accompanied him. The queen of Navarre was taken off by poiſon. Coligni was ſhot at, as he was going home at noon, by a villian hired for the purpoſe, but he was only wounded. And in the evening, the duke of Guiſe communicated the king's

king's ſecret intentions to Charron, intendant of Paris, who ordered the captains of the different wards to arm the burghers privately; giving orders, that the Roman Catholic citizens, as ſoon as they heard an alarm ſtruck on the bell of the palace clock, ſhould place lights in their windows by way of diſtinction, and then breaking into the houſes of all the Huguenots, put them to the ſword, without regard to ſex or age.

At midnight, Guiſe, accompanied by the duke D'Amaule, grand prior of France, a number of officers, and three hundred choſen ſoldiers, marched to the admiral's hotel, broke open the gates, and entered the houſe. A colonel and two ſubaltern officers diſpatched the wounded Coligni, and threw his body from his chamber-window into the ſtreet. All his domeſtics were aſſaſſinated, without mercy; and while this was tranſacting, the alarm was ſtruck on the bell, and the militia joining with the ſoldiers, a general maſſacre enſued. Two thouſand perſons were put to the ſword before morning, and a great number in the courſe of the enſuing day. At the ſame time, by orders from the court, the Huguenots in all the capital cities of the kingdom of France, ſhared the ſame fate: but in two or three garriſon-towns they were ſpared, the governors refuſing to execute the bloody mandates, excuſing themſelves, by ſaying, the king muſt be out of his ſenſes when he gave them. The mangled body of the admiral was inſulted by the bigotted populace, and hung upon the gibbet of Montfaucon; and the young king of Navarre, the prince of Bearn, and the prince of Condé, were cloſetted by Charles and his ſavage mother, who told them, that if they did not embrace the Roman Catholic religion, they ſhould not live three days. By fair promiſes they gained time, and made their eſcape.

But according to Camden, it was intended to have involved England in the fate of this evil day; for he ſays, that the earl of Leiceſter, and Cecil, then lord Burleigh, were invited to the nuptials, and were to have

have been cut off, being the ſupporters of the Proteſtant intereſt both in England and in France, by their councils and aſſiſtance: and the truth of this is juſtified by the conduct of the French ambaſſador ſoon after, who haughtily demanded, that all the French Proteſtants, who had fled to England, on hearing of the maſſacre of Paris, ſhould be delivered up as rebellious ſubjects, which the queen, with equal humanity and reſolution, abſolutely refuſed.

To return to Leiceſter: moſt hiſtorians agree, that it was in the courſe of this year he privately married lady Douglas, dowager-baroneſs of Sheffield; and though ſome ſecret memoirs of the adventures of this unfortunate lady, whom he would never own as his wife, were handed about, yet the affair did not reach the queen's ear. But the wits of the court, after his marriage with the counteſs dowager of Eſſex was known, ſtyled theſe two ladies, Leiceſter's two teſtaments, calling lady Douglas the old, and lady Eſſex the new teſtament. Unable, however, to make lady Douglas deſiſt from her pretenſions, he endeavoured, ſays Dugdale, to take her off by poiſon, and ſhe narrowly eſcaped death, with the loſs of her hair and her nails.

Yet all the reports and repreſentations made to the queen, of the earl's reprehenſible conduct and bad character, had ſo little effect upon her, that in 1575, her majeſty made him a viſit at his caſtle of Kenelworth, which had been granted to his lordſhip and his heirs, by the queen's letters patent, ever ſince the fifth year of her reign; and his expence in enlarging and adorning it, amounted to no leſs than 60,000l. Here he entertained the queen and her court with all imaginable magnificence for ſeventeen days.

"At her firſt entrance, a floating iſland was diſcerned upon a large pool, glittering with torches; on which ſat the lady of the lake, attended by two nymphs, who addreſſed her majeſty in verſe with an hiſtorical account of the antiquity and owners of the caſtle; and

the ſpeech was cloſed with the ſound of cornets, and other inſtruments of loud muſic. Within the lower court was erected a ſtately bridge, twenty feet wide, and ſeventy feet long, over which the queen was to paſs; and on each ſide ſtood columns, with preſents upon them to her majeſty from the gods. Silvanus offered a cage of wild-fowl, and Pomona divers ſorts of fruits; Ceres gave corn, and Bacchus wine; Neptune preſented ſea-fiſh, Mars the habiliments of war, and Phœbus all kinds of muſical inſtruments.

"During her ſtay, variety of ſports and ſhews were daily exhibited. In the chace was a ſavage man with ſatyrs; there were bear-baitings, fire-works, Italian tumblers, and a country wake, running at the quintain, and morrice-dancing. And, that no ſort of diverſion might be omitted, the Coventry men came, and acted the ancient play, ſo long ſince uſed in their city, called Hocks-Tueſday, repreſenting the deſtruction of the Danes in the reign of king Ethelred; which proved ſo agreeable to her majeſty, that ſhe ordered them a brace of bucks, and five marks in money, to defray the charges of the feaſt. There were, beſides, on the pool, a triton riding on a mermaid eighteen feet long, and Arion upon a dolphin."

An eſtimate may be formed of the expence from the quantity of beer that was drank upon this occaſion, which amounted to 320 hogſheads.

Towards the cloſe of this year, Walter D'Evereux, earl of Eſſex, was, by lord Leiceſter's management, commanded to reſign his authority in Ireland; and returned into England, after having ſuſtained a conſiderable loſs in his private fortunes. But expreſſing his reſentment with too much eagerneſs againſt Leiceſter, to whoſe under-hand dealings he imputed the whole cauſe of his misfortunes, he was again ſent back into Ireland by his procurement, with the unprofitable title of earl-marſhal of the country. And here he continued not long

long before he died of a bloody-flux, in the midſt of incredible torments.

The death of this nobleman carried with it a ſuſpicion of poiſon, and was charged upon the earl of Leiceſter. Two of Eſſex's own ſervants are reported to have been confederates in the murder: and it is ſaid, that a pious lady, whom the earl much valued, was accidentally poiſoned at the ſame time. It is farther alleged, that his lordſhip's page, who was accuſtomed to taſte of his drink before he gave it him, very hardly eſcaped with life, and not without the loſs of his hair, though he drank but a ſmall quantity; and that the earl, in compaſſion to the boy, called for a cup of drink a little before his death, and drank to him in a friendly manner, ſaying, "I drink to thee, my Robin; but ben't "afraid, 'tis a better cup of drink than that thou took-"eſt to taſte when we both were poiſoned."

This report, however, was contradicted by Sir Henry Sidney, the lord-deputy of Ireland; yet the ſuſpicion was increaſed ſoon after, when Leiceſter married the counteſs dowager of Eſſex, an event which he wiſhed to conceal. But the French ambaſſador Simier, preſſing the queen's marriage with the duke of Anjou, and imagining her private attachment to Leiceſter was the only obſtacle to it, revealed the earl's marriage to her; and ſhe was ſo intemperate in her rage upon this occaſion, that ſhe forbade him the court, and would have committed him to the Tower, if the earl of Suſſex had not prevented it, on prudential reaſons.

It has been ſuggeſted, that Leiceſter plotted againſt the life of Simier in reſentment of this diſcovery. The ſuſpicion was founded on two circumſtances; the one was a proclamation iſſued by the queen, that no perſon ſhould preſume to offer any affront to the French ambaſſador or his ſervants. The other was, that, as Simier was attending the queen in a barge upon the river, a gun was fired, the ſhot from which paſſing the ambaſ-

ſador's barge, ſhot one of the queen's watermen through both arms.

In 1579, the duke of Anjou came over to England, thinking thereby the better to forward his ſuit; but for a long time he met with no better ſucceſs than his ambaſſador. At length, however, as he was one day entertaining her majeſty with amorous diſcourſe, ſhe drew a ring from off her finger, and placed it upon his, on certain private conditions which had been agreed between them. The company preſent miſtook it for a contract of marriage; and the earl of Leiceſter, and the reſt of his faction, who had ſpared no pains to render the deſign abortive, cried, The queen, the realm, and religion, were undone. The ladies of honour, who were all in his intereſt, broke out into bitter lamentations, and ſo terrified the queen, that, early the next morning, ſhe ſent for the duke of Anjou, and, after ſome private converſation with him, diſmiſſed him her court, after he had ſtaid in England three years. To do him honour, the queen attended him as far as Canterbury, and ordered the earl of Leiceſter, and ſome others of her nobility, to wait upon him to Antwerp, to which place he retired in 1582.

From this time to 1585, we meet with nothing material in Leiceſter's tranſactions, except his ſubſcribing an aſſociation with the reſt of the nobility to defend queen Elizabeth, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, againſt the open violence and ſecret machinations of her enemies.

In 1585, the United Provinces in the Netherlands, who had lately thrown off the Spaniſh yoke, being greatly diſtreſſed, made application to queen Elizabeth, and deſired her majeſty to accept of the government of thoſe provinces, and to take them into her protection. The queen heard their deputies favourably; however, ſhe refuſed the ſovereignty, and only entered into a treaty, by which ſhe engaged to furniſh them with a large ſupply of men and money, which ſhe ſent to them

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ſoon after, under the conduct of her general, the earl of Leiceſter.

On the eighth of December he embarked, attended by ſeveral perſons of diſtinction. His fleet conſiſted of fifty ſail of ſhips and tranſports; and, on the tenth, he arrived at Fluſhing, where, with his whole train, his perſon being guarded by fifty archers, fifty halberdiers, and fifty muſqueteers, he was magnificently entertained by Sir Philip Sidney, his nephew, governor of the town for her majeſty; by Grave Maurice, ſecond ſon to William of Naſſau, prince of Orange, then lately deceaſed; by the magiſtracy of the city; and by the queen's ambaſſador. This town, with the caſtle of *Ramilies*, and the town of *Tervere* in Zealand, and the *Brille* in the province of Holland, had been delivered to Elizabeth, as a ſecurity for the repayment of the expences ſhe had been at, to enable the United Provinces to maintain their new republic, independently of Spain, and they are thence ſtyled in hiſtory, *The Cautionary Towns*.

The ſame ſplendid and honourable reception was given to the earl throughout his progreſs to the Hague; every town endeavouring to outvie the other in demonſtrations of reſpect; all manner of ſhews and entertainments by land and on their canals were exhibited. At the Hague, the ſtates deſirous of engaging queen Elizabeth ſtill farther in their defence, as a compliment to her majeſty, conferred on her favourite the higheſt honour that republic can beſtow: they made him governor and captain-general of the United Provinces, gave him a guard, in the ſame manner as had been the cuſtom for the prince of Orange, and permitted him to keep a court, to which the ſtates and the magiſtracy repaired to pay their compliments, and in moſt reſpects he was treated as their ſovereign.

But this ſtep had a contrary effect to what the ſtates expected; for the queen had given a ſtrict charge to Leiceſter before his departure, not to exceed his com-

miſſion, which was ſo limited, that his acceptance of theſe honours highly militated againſt his ſecret inſtructions, as well as his commiſſion. Her majeſty therefore conſidered her perſonal honour as injured, rather than complimented by the extravagant reception her lieutenant had met with, and thought the ſtates, who were conſiderably indebted to her, might have found a better uſe for their money, than to expend it on pageants, triumphal arches, and feaſts; ſhe therefore ſeverely reprimanded them in a letter written with her own hand, and to Leiceſter ſhe ſent her vice-chamberlain, to check his ambition by perſonal reproof.

The ſtates returned a ſubmiſſive anſwer, and excuſed what they had done by the neceſſity they lay under to ſhew her repreſentative all poſſible tokens of reſpect. The earl of Leiceſter, too, lamenting his hard fate in having diſobliged her, ſo wrought upon her, that ſhe overlooked the offence, and even acquieſced in the title given him by the ſtates. It has, indeed, been ſuppoſed, that Elizabeth's anger againſt Leiceſter and the ſtates was only pretended, and that it was nothing but an artifice, by which ſhe ſhifted from herſelf the odium of aſſuming the ſovereignty of the United Provinces, at the ſame time that ſhe transferred it to her own dependent, whom ſhe could turn out of it, or confirm in it, as circumſtances ſhould render it expedient.

The earl afterwards proceeded to the exerciſe of his high authority, and having appointed natives of Holland to be deputies in every province, he put the whole army, both Dutch and Engliſh, under ſuch excellent regulations, that the prince of Parma, general of the Spaniſh forces, began to conſider him as a formidable enemy, and to deſpair of recovering theſe provinces for the crown of Spain, though not long before he had boaſted, that he ſhould make them an eaſy conqueſt. Several ſkirmiſhes now happened, in which the Engliſh forces gained the advantage; and the prince of Parma having laid ſiege to Grave, Norris, who was

Leiceſter's

Leiceſter's lieutenant-general, and count Hollack, repulſed him with conſiderable loſs; but Van Hemart, a young Dutch nobleman, the governor, ſurrendered it, for which he loſt his head. However, upon the whole, the Engliſh were ſo ſucceſsful, that, in honour of their victories, Leiceſter determined to celebrate the feſtival of St. George at Utrecht, where he had his head-quarters, with the ſame ridiculous oſtentation, a fondneſs for which was one of his great foibles. And this freſh proof of his vanity embroiled him again with his royal miſtreſs, whoſe frequent remiſſion of his offences has been always urged as the ſtrongeſt proof, by foreign hiſtorians, of a criminal attachment to him.

But the future ſucceſs of the campaign not anſwering to the high expectations formed by the Dutch on the firſt enterpriſes of the Engliſh, the miſcarriages were imputed to Leiceſter's want of military courage and conduct, eſpecially after the failure of the ſiege of Zutphen, a town in poſſeſſion of the Spaniards, and of the moſt importance of any they held in the Netherlands.

The ſtrength of this place conſiſted in a fort built upon the river Yſſel. This Leiceſter endeavoured to block up by batteries erected againſt it, and he reduced the governor to ſuch extremities, that he was obliged to ſend to the prince of Parma, then beſieging Rhinberg for ſuccours. The prince, at the head of a ſtrong detachment, flew to his aſſiſtance; and at this critical juncture, by ſome unaccountable miſconduct, Leiceſter neglected to ſend money to the count de Meurs, to pay two thouſand German mercenaries, whom the count had haſtily levied and brought into Holland for the ſervice of the ſtates; and the prince of Parma being informed that the men were on the point of mutinying, ſhewed his generalſhip, by ſurrounding them in this temper, whereupon ſome threw down their arms, and the reſt entered into the Spaniſh ſervice. After which

he

he contrived to throw ſuccours into the fort of Zutphen.

But the flower of the Engliſh volunteers being in the field, and among them many perſons of high rank, particularly the gallant Sir Philip Sidney, Sir William Stanley, Sir William Ruſſel, and Sir John Norris, they reſolved to purſue the enterpriſe, notwithſtanding this diſcouragement; and rather to die for the honour of their country, than raiſe the ſiege. With ſuch ſentiments, it is not ſurpriſing that they performed prodigies of valour; but all their efforts proved ineffectual; for Leiceſter again ſacrificed to his idol vanity in this famous battle. Having taken a chapel which ſtood in the field of battle, he employed too much time and attention in ſecuring this poſt, which he had taken in perſon, by a trench, inſtead of inſpecting the motions of the enemy, who had broken through the line of the Engliſh foot, and ſupported by a ſtrong fire from their cavalry, had made dreadful havock. But ſeeing Leiceſter chiefly intent on his trifling acquiſition, the enemy directed their attack with three thouſand men againſt the general's favourite chapel, which occaſioned a bloody conteſt, the Spaniards gaining poſſeſſion of it; but at length they were driven with conſiderable ſlaughter to their intrenchments; however, the advantages which had been gained by the Engliſh in other quarters were loſt by this manœuvre, and time was given to the prince of Parma, who had hitherto left the fate of the day to the marquis of Vaſto, to advance with his main force againſt the Engliſh, juſt as they were preparing to force the intrenchments. Then it was that the lieutenant-general Norris, obſerving the deſign of the prince of Parma, which was to flank the Engliſh, adviſed Leiceſter either to call off the troops under Sir William Pelham from their attack on the intrenchments, to ſupport the body of the Engliſh againſt the prince, or to order a retreat. Leiceſter unfortunately

fortunately choſe the latter; and Zutphen remained in the hands of the Spaniards.

In the battle, the Engliſh, in general, gave ſignal proofs of their military ſkill and perſonal valour; but Sir PHILIP SIDNEY ſurpaſſed all others. This gallant officer, who was the ſon of Sir Henry Sidney, by Mary, the eldeſt daughter of John Dudley, duke of Northumberland, diſtinguiſhed himſelf very early at the court of Elizabeth; for after having made the tour of Europe, he was eſteemed ſuch an accompliſhed young gentleman, that in the year 1576, when he was but in the twenty-ſecond year of his age, he was ſent by the queen to congratulate Rodolphus II. emperor of Germany, on his acceſſion to the imperial throne. And in his way home, he viſited Don John of Auſtria, governor of the Low Countries, a moſt haughty prince, accuſtomed to treat all foreigners with inſolent contempt. Sir Philip Sidney therefore met with a very cool reception; but afterwards, upon the report of his courtiers, that he was a gentleman of great learning and knowledge of the world, though ſo young, he condeſcended to converſe with him; and from that time he ſhewed him every poſſible mark of reſpect and eſteem.

He poſſeſſed the ancient ſpirit of Britiſh freedom, which he exerted manfully upon all occaſions, particularly when a quarrel happened between him and the earl of Oxford at the Royal tennis-court, which was carried to ſuch lengths that the queen interpoſed, and told Sidney "to conſider the difference in degree between earls and gentlemen, adding, that princes were under a neceſſity to ſupport the privileges of thoſe on whom they conferred titles and dignities; and that, if gentlemen contemned the nobility, it would teach peaſants to inſult both." To which he made the following reply, with due reverence: "That rank was never intended for privilege to wrong; witneſs her majeſty herſelf, who, how ſovereign ſoever ſhe were by throne, birth, education, and nature, yet was ſhe content to caſt

caſt her own affections into the ſame moulds with her ſubjects, and govern all her prerogatives by their laws. And he beſought her majeſty to conſider, that although the earl of Oxford were a great lord by birth, alliance, and favour, yet he was no lord over him; and therefore the difference in degrees between freemen could challenge no other homage but precedency."

With the ſame independent ſpirit he wrote an elegant Latin letter to the queen, containing the ſoundeſt arguments, founded on the principles of general policy, and the conſtitution of the kingdom, diſſuading her from the marriage then nearly concluded between her majeſty and the duke of Anjou; which letter was well received, and is preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum.

But his natural fire and vivacity made him ſcorn the idle life of a courtier, and led him on to the field of military glory; the queen therefore, by the recommendation of Walſingham, whoſe daughter he had married, and of his uncle the earl of Leiceſter, appointed him governor of Fluſhing, and lieutenant-general of the horſe. Being arrived in Zealand, he formed a cloſe friendſhip and intimacy with Maurice, ſon of the prince of Orange, and in conjunction with him entered Flanders, and took Axel by ſurpriſe. Though the prince is named in this enterpriſe, yet the honour of the contrivance, and the execution of it, is generally aſcribed to Sidney, who revived the ancient diſcipline of ſilent order on the march: and by this conduct, his ſoldiers were enabled to ſcale the walls in the dead of night, when no enemy was expected. Having ſucceeded ſo far, a choſen band made directly to the guard-chamber on the market place, took the officers priſoners, and thus became maſters of the place before the commandant, who had the keys of the town in his bed-chamber, had the leaſt notice of the ſurpriſe.

Encouraged by this ſucceſs, he made an attempt upon Graveline; but the deſign proved abortive, through the treachery of La Motte, the commanding officer.

His

His next and laſt ſervice was at the ſiege of Zutphen. Here he was conſtantly engaged in the heat of the action, and ſignalized himſelf by prodigies of valour. He had two horſes killed under him, and was mounting a third, when he was wounded by a muſket-ſhot from the trenches, which broke the bone of one of his thighs; and being then unable to manage his horſe, he bore him from the field, "the nobleſt bier to carry a martial commander to his grave." In this agonizing ſituation he rode to the camp, near a mile and a half diſtant, and paſſing by the reſt of the army, faint with the loſs of blood, he called for drink; but when it was brought to him, as he was putting the bottle to his mouth, he ſaw a poor ſoldier carried along more dangerouſly wounded, who caſt a longing eye towards the bottle, which the generous, heroic Sidney obſerving, he gave it to the ſoldier, before he had taſted a drop himſelf, ſaying, "Thy neceſſity is yet greater than mine." He drank however after the ſoldier, and was then carried to Arnheim, where the principal ſurgeons were. During ſixteen days they entertained hopes of his recovery, but at laſt finding they were not able to extract the ball, and a mortification enſuing, this brave man prepared to meet death with a pious fortitude and reſignation, correſpondent to the great actions of his life. He expired in the arms of his brother, Sir Robert Sidney, on the 17th of October 1586, in the thirty-ſecond year of his age.

The ſtates of Zealand requeſted of the queen that they might have the honour of burying him; but this was refuſed: and her majeſty, in conſideration of his uncommon merit, ordered the body to be embarked for England, which was accordingly done, with the uſual military honours. It was received with the ſame at the Tower, and, after lying in ſtate ſeveral days, was interred with great pomp in St. Paul's Cathedral. But beſides his military fame, he left an unfading memorial of his

his fine genius, in his celebrated romance, intitled, Arcadia.

The loſs of this promiſing hero, in the bloom of youth, combined with the ill fortune of the day, occaſioned loud murmurs in the army, and alienated the eſteem of the Dutch, who now openly arraigned Leiceſter, and did not ſcruple to charge him with want of military ſkill, if not of perſonal valour. When therefore he arrived at the Hague, after this campaign, the ſtates being then aſſembled, they received him with coldneſs, and ſoon broke out in expoſtulation and complaint, in a moderate way deſiring redreſs. But Leiceſter, in return, entered upon a juſtification of his proceedings, ſtrove to remove their ſuppoſed miſconſtructions and miſtakes, and at laſt endeavoured to diſſolve the aſſembly; but not being able to effect it, he declared his reſolution of returning to England, and left them in an angry manner. However, he ſeems afterwards to have been brought to temper, and to have told the ſtates, that by his journey into England he ſhould be the better enabled to aſſiſt them in their affairs, and to provide a remedy for all grievances.

When the day came for his departure, by a public act, he gave up the care of the provinces into the hands of the council of ſtate; but privately, the ſame day, by an act of reſtriction, he reſerved an authority to himſelf over all governors of provinces, forts, and cities, and farther took away from the council and the preſidents of provinces their accuſtomed juriſdiction. And then he ſet ſail for England.

But whatever might be the pretence for Leiceſter's leaving the Low Countries at this conjuncture, his preſence in England ſeems now to have been deſired ſecretly by Elizabeth, who wanted him near her perſon at this juncture; for the late conſpiracies, which had been formed in favour of the queen of Scots, had made a deep impreſſion upon her majeſty, and ſhe now reſolved to ſacrifice her to her own ſafety; but the difficul-

ty

ty lay in what manner it ſhould be done; and ſhe knew ſhe could rely upon Leiceſter's fidelity. When the matter was brought before the council, his lordſhip is ſaid to have adviſed to take her off by poiſon; but this baſe deſign being openly oppoſed by ſecretary Walſingham, it was determined to proceed againſt her by public trial; the proceedings and iſſue whereof the reader will find in the life of Cecil lord Burleigh.

In the mean time, the affairs of the Low Countries were in a very unproſperous condition; and the governors of the provinces gave in loud complaints againſt the earl of Leiceſter's adminiſtration. During his ſtay in England, they called together the ſtates-general; and to preſerve their country, they agreed to inveſt prince Maurice with the full power and authority of ſtadtholder. Purſuant to this determination, they obliged all the officers to receive a new commiſſion from him, and to take a new oath to the ſtates, and diſcharged all recuſants whatſoever from the ſervice.

Queen Elizabeth was highly diſpleaſed with theſe alterations in the government. She immediately ſent over lord Buckhurſt to inquire into the matter, to complain of the innovations they had introduced in the earl of Leiceſter's abſence, and to ſettle all differences between them. The ſtates, in return, aſſured her majeſty, that their proceedings were but proviſional, and enforced through fear of a general revolt in conſequence of their loſſes; and that at his lordſhip's return they would readily acknowledge both him and his authority; for the ſtates were too well acquainted with the ſhare Leiceſter bore in her majeſty's affection, to abide by any accuſation againſt him. But notwithſtanding many outward profeſſions of regard, they inwardly hated him, and privately proceeded in the execution of the projects to limit his power.

The queen, however, openly eſpouſing the cauſe of her favourite, Leiceſter went over to Holland again; where, by his profeſſions of zeal for the Proteſtant re-

ligion, he formed a ſtrong party among the divines and devotees, and thus raiſed two factions in the country, by which the States were greatly diſtreſſed, the magiſtrates and perſons of rank only being of their party, while the maſs of the people, with the clergy, were devoted to Leiceſter. From this embarraſſing ſituation, they were fortunately relieved by Leiceſter's recal in 1588, when England was in a general conſternation on account of the intended invaſion by the Spaniſh Armada. And to the aſtoniſhment of the Dutch miniſter in England, as well as of the whole Engliſh nation, though lord Buckhurſt now delivered in accuſations againſt him at the council-board, for maleadminiſtration in the Low Countries, ſupported by the ſtates, who were exaſperated at the loſs of Sluys, and the general bad ſucceſs of the campaign in 1587, the queen interpoſed; and as a token of her great eſteem for, and confidence in the earl, ſhe made him lieutenant-general of the army, which had marched to Tilbury, to prevent the landing of the Spaniards. As her majeſty intended to put herſelf at the head of this army, if the Spaniards had made a deſcent on the coaſt, no greater honour could be conferred on a ſubject, nor could a greater proof be given of blind favouritiſm; for Leiceſter certainly wanted many of the talents requiſite to form a great general; and it is not without reaſon that he is ſuppoſed to have been deficient in perſonal bravery. Indeed, it can hardly be imagined, that cool reflection, temper, and courage, could ſubſiſt in a mind overcharged with the remembrance of crimes of the deepeſt dye.

Yet Elizabeth, when ſhe reviewed this army, beſtowed the higheſt encomiums on him, in her memorable ſpeech, which, conſidering the great occaſion, and the dignity of the ſpeaker, claims a place in this work, without abridgment or alteration.

In imitation of the celebrated generals of ancient Greece

Greece and Rome, the illuſtrious Engliſh heroine thus harangued her troops:

"My Loving People,

"We have been perſuaded by ſome, that are careful of our ſafety, to take heed how we commit ourſelves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I aſſure you, I do not deſire to live to diſtruſt my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear: I have always ſo behaved myſelf, that, under God, I have placed my chiefeſt ſtrength and ſafeguard in the loyal hearts and goodwill of my ſubjects. And therefore I am come amongſt you, as you ſee, at this time, not for my recreation and diſport, but being reſolved, in the midſt and heat of the battle, to live and die amongſt you all: to lay down for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the duſt. I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and ſtomach of a king, and of a king of England too; and think it foul ſcorn that Parma, or Spain, or any prince of Europe, ſhould dare to invade the borders of my realm; to which rather than any diſhonour ſhall grow by me, I myſelf will take up arms, I myſelf will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, for your forwardneſs, you have deſerved rewards and crowns; and we do aſſure you, on the word of a prince, they ſhall be duly paid you.

"In the mean time, my lieutenant-general ſhall be in my ſtead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble or worthy ſubject, not doubting but by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we ſhall ſhortly have a famous victory over thoſe enemies of my God, of my kingdom, and of my people."

The Spaniſh invaſion was providentially prevented by a violent ſtorm which diſperſed their fleet, and it was afterwards defeated; but for the account of this

engagement, we refer to the lives of the lord-high-admiral, Charles Howard earl of Nottingham, and of Sir Francis Drake.

This was the laſt expedition in which the earl of Leiceſter was engaged; for retiring ſoon after to his caſtle at Kenelworth, as he was upon his journey, he was taken ill of a fever at Cornbury Park, in Oxfordſhire; of which he died on the 4th of September 1588.

His death, according to ſome authors, was haſtened by poiſon, and the crime is imputed to Sir James Crofts, in revenge for ſome injury done by the earl to his father. His corpſe was removed to Warwick, and magnificently interred in a chapel, adjoining to the choir of the collegiate church, and over it a handſome monument was erected to his memory.

His character is given in a few words, by Camden: "He was a moſt accompliſhed courtier, free and bountiful to ſoldiers and ſtudents: a cunning time-ſerver, and reſpecter of his own advantages; of a diſpoſition ready and apt to pleaſe; crafty and ſubtle towards his adverſaries; much given formerly to women, and in his latter days doating extremely upon marriage. But, whilſt he preferred power and greatneſs, which is ſubject to be envied before ſolid virtue, his detracting emulators found large matter to ſpeak reproachfully of him; and even when he was in his moſt flouriſhing condition, ſpared not diſgracefully to defame him by libels, not without a mixture of ſome untruths." But there is much reaſon to believe, that he was well ſkilled in, and a frequent practiſer of the diabolical art of poiſoning; which formed part of the Machiavelian accompliſhments of a courtier in ſome of the courts of Europe at this æra.

The earl of Leiceſter left only one ſon, to whom he bequeathed the greateſt part of his real eſtate, by the title of *his baſe ſon Robert*, on account of his having always denied his marriage with the lady Douglas, his mother;

mother; but the young gentleman, with great reaſon, laid claim to legitimacy, and to the hereditary honours of his family, in the beginning of the reign of James I. and commenced a ſuit for that purpoſe in the eccleſiaſtical court; and when he had proceeded ſo far as to prove the marriage of his mother, by indubitable evidence, the cauſe, through the influence of the dowager counteſs of Leiceſter (formerly counteſs of Eſſex) now married to a third huſband, Sir Chriſtopher Blunt, was removed into the ſtar-chamber, where the king in an arbitrary manner put an end to the ſuit, by ordering the examinations of the witneſſes to be locked up, and no copies to be taken without the royal licence.

This act of injuſtice determined Sir Robert Dudley to leave his native country, and at this time he was eſteemed one of the moſt accompliſhed gentlemen of his age. The Dudley family, for three deſcents, had furniſhed men of very great abilities; but this reputed *baſe* ſon, in learning ſurpaſſed them all, eſpecially in the the uſeful part of mathematics. And in the laſt years of Elizabeth, he had fitted out ſome ſhips, and made ſome valuable diſcoveries in navigation: he alſo took and deſtroyed nine ſail of Spaniſh ſhips: and he behaved ſo gallantly at the ſiege of Calais, that the queen conferred on him the honour of knighthood; but he certainly did not receive the encouragement he appears to have merited, either in her reign or that of her ſucceſſor.

Diſguſted at the Engliſh court, he obtained a licence to travel for three years; but upon the death of his uncle, the earl of Warwick, he aſſumed his title abroad, which giving offence to king James, he was ordered home, and not thinking it prudent to comply, his eſtate was confiſcated, for his life, to the crown.

Upon this reverſe of fortune, he retired to Florence, where he was kindly received by Coſmo II. great duke of Tuſcany; and for his eminent ſervices to the manufactures and commerce of that country, the emperor,

on the recommendation of the archducheſs, to whom he had been appointed chamberlain, created him a duke of the Holy Roman Empire in 1620; and he then aſſumed his grandfather's title, that of duke of Northumberland.

He died at his country-ſeat near Florence in 1639, leaving a great character in the learned world, for his ſkill in philoſophy, chemiſtry, and medicine; and in the means of applying them for the benefit of mankind.

He was an author of ſome repute; and his principal work, intitled, *Del arcano del mare, &c.* printed at Florence in 1630, and again in 1646, in two volumes, folio, is highly valuable and very ſcarce. He was alſo the inventor of a ſudorific powder, for a long time known under the name of The Earl of Warwick's Powder.

*** *Authorities.* Camden's Annals and Birch's Life of Queen Elizabeth. Dugdale's Antiquities of Warwickſhire. Fuller's Worthies of Surrey. Melvil's Memoirs, edit. 1752. Hakluyt's Collection of Voyages, Travels, and Diſcoveries of the Engliſh Nation, fol. edit. 1580.

THE LIFE OF

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM,

SECRETARY OF STATE TO QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[A. D. 1536, to 1590.]

FRANCIS WALSINGHAM was deſcended of an ancient and good family, and born about the year 1536. He was educated at King's College in the univerſity of Cambridge. His friends ſent him to travel in foreign countries

countries while he was very young; and it was owing to this happy circumſtance, that he remained abroad during the perſecuting adminiſtration of queen Mary, to whoſe ſanguinary zeal he might otherwiſe have fallen a victim, for his declared attachment, while he was at the univerſity, to the reformed religion.

A genius for political knowledge, directed his attention in early life, to the ſtudy of the forms of government, legiſlations, manners, and cuſtoms of the different nations of Europe; and of theſe he acquired ſuch an extenſive knowledge, that, on his return to England, in the reign of queen Elizabeth, his abilities recommended him to Sir William Cecil, by whoſe means he was employed in ſome of the moſt important affairs of ſtate. The firſt of his public employments was an embaſſy into France, where he reſided ſeveral years, during the heat of the civil wars in that kingdom. In Auguſt 1570, he was ſent there to treat of a marriage between queen Elizabeth and the duke of Alençon, with other matters of the higheſt conſequence: and he continued at the court of France till April 1573. He acquitted himſelf in the character of ambaſſador with uncommon capacity, fidelity, and diligence, ſparing neither pains nor money to promote the queen's ſervice to the utmoſt. But Elizabeth was ſo extremely parſimonious, that it was with great difficulty he could procure ſuch ſupplies of money, as were requiſite for ſupporting the dignity of his character. But on his return to England, he was appointed one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate, and ſoon after he received the honour of knighthood.

It was on the promotion of his conſtant friend and patron Sir William Cecil, now created a peer, and made lord-treaſurer, that Walſingham was raiſed to his new dignity; but ſtill he was the junior ſecretary, till the death of Sir Thomas Smith, which happened in 1577; from which time Sir Francis Walſingham may be conſidered as ſecond in the adminiſtration of public affairs,

fairs, and the firm, grateful ſupporter of Cecil lord Burleigh's power and influence, againſt Leiceſter and his party.

Sir Francis was peculiarly happy in the diſcovery of court intrigues, and treaſonable conſpiracies at home; and he was no leſs ſucceſsful in procuring the earlieſt and moſt authentic intelligence of the ſecret deſigns of the principal powers of Europe.

This experienced ſtateſman was ſent over to Holland in 1578, to aſſiſt at the congreſs held by the Proteſtant ſtates of the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Friezland, and Utrecht. He acted as the repreſentative of queen Elizabeth at their meetings; but thoſe writers who ſtyle this private agency an embaſſy, forgot that the republic was not yet eſtabliſhed, or in a capacity to receive ambaſſadors. Walſingham, however, contributed by his political talents and influence to the formation of the alliance entered into by theſe provinces, the beginning of the following year, ſtyled, *The Union of* UTRECHT, which was the object of his commiſſion.

On his return home, he was conſulted by the queen and Cecil on the conditions of the propoſed marriage between her majeſty and the duke of Anjou; and theſe being adjuſted, he was appointed ambaſſador to the court of France, for the third time, and he repaired thither in 1581; but Henry III. of France, rejecting the propoſals, the embaſſy proved unſucceſsful. Walſingham was recalled towards the cloſe of the year; and the duke of Anjou finally quitted England, as we have related more amply in the life of Leiceſter.

Upon every occaſion, when ſkilful addreſs and political intrigue were eſſentially requiſite. Walſingham was ſure to be employed. As ſoon therefore as the queen received intelligence that the young king of Scotland, afterwards James I. of England, had ſhewn a ſtrong attachment to the earl of Arran, and had made him his chief confident, Walſingham was diſpatched to Scotland, to endeavour to remove the earl; or if that could

could not be effected, to form a party at court and in the kingdom againſt him. The latter he accompliſhed, and at the ſame time, he purſued another ſecret deſign of Elizabeth, "which was to obtain from a man of Walſingham's penetration and diſcernment, the real character of James." This we give on the authority of Hume, who farther adds, "that Walſingham was greatly deceived upon this occaſion, entertaining higher ideas of his talents for public buſineſs than they merited." But this does not impeach the judgment of our ſtateſman, who at the time of his arrival in Scotland, and during his reſidence there, was in a very bad and declining ſtate of health: and in this ſituation, James, who knew his fame as a man of letters, engaged him chiefly in converſations which tended to ſhew his own ſcholaſtic learning; and Walſingham, ſays Lloyd, "fitted the humour of the king by paſſages out of Xenophon, Thucydides, Plutarch, Tacitus." In ſuch literary conferences, the young monarch took great delight, and he generally exerted himſelf upon ſuch occaſions; ſo that from his critical knowledge of ancient hiſtory and other branches of ſcience, Walſingham was warranted to draw a concluſion, that he would not prove ſo miſerably deficient, as we ſhall find he was, in the application of his knowledge to practice.

In 1586, by his peculiar ſagacity and management he unravelled the whole plot of Babington, and others, againſt the life of the queen.

Soon after this, he was appointed one of the commiſſioners for the trial of the queen of Scots, having before oppoſed the advice of the earl of Leiceſter, who was inclined to diſpatch her by poiſon, and had privately ſent a court divine to ſecretary Walſingham, to perſuade him to conſent. But the latter perſiſted in his opinion, that ſuch a method of proceeding was not only unjuſt, but likewiſe dangerous and diſhonourable to their royal miſtreſs.

In the courſe of the trial, queen Mary charged him with

with counterfeiting her cyphers, and with practiſing againſt her's and her ſon's life. Whereupon Walſingham, riſing from his ſeat with great earneſtneſs, proteſted that his heart was free from all malice againſt the queen—he called God to witneſs, that, in his private character, he had done nothing unbecoming an honeſt man, nor in his public capacity any thing unworthy of his ſtation. He owned, indeed, that out of his great care for the perſonal ſafety of his royal miſtreſs, and the ſecurity of her realm, he had curiouſly endeavoured to ſearch and ſift out all plots and deſigns againſt both. And he added, that in this view, if Ballard, though an accomplice with Babington, had offered him his ſervice in the diſcovery of the plot, he would not only have accepted it, but have rewarded him for it. Mary ſeemed to be ſatisfied with this vindication of himſelf, and expreſſed her concern that ſhe ſhould have credited every idle report to his diſadvantage.

In 1587, the king of Spain having made vaſt preparations, which ſurpriſed and kept all Europe in ſuſpenſe, not knowing on what nation the ſtorm would break, Walſingham employed his utmoſt endeavours for the diſcovery of this important ſecret; and accordingly procured intelligence from Madrid, that the king had informed his council of his having ſent an expreſs to Rome, with a letter under his own hand to the pope, acquainting him with the true deſign of his preparations and begging his bleſſing upon it; which, for ſome reaſons, he could not diſcloſe to the council till the return of the courier. The ſecret being thus lodged with the pope, Walſingham, by the means of a Venetian prieſt retained at Rome as a ſpy, got a copy of the original letter, which was ſtolen out of the pope's cabinet by a gentleman of the bed-chamber, who took the key out of the pope's pocket while he ſlept.

After this, by his dextrous management, he cauſed the Spaniards bills to be proteſted at Genoa, which ſhould have ſupplied them with money for their extra-

ordinary

ordinary preparations; and, by this means, he happily retarded this formidable invaſion for a whole year.

This ſeems to have been the laſt public tranſaction in which he was concerned, and as to his private life we have no intereſting anecdotes relative to it. We ſhall therefore only obſerve, before we drop the curtain on this true patriot, that every attempt to promote the trade and navigation of this country, met with his protection and encouragement. Hakluyt's voyages and diſcoveries in foreign parts, and Gilbert's ſettling of Newfoundland, were promoted by him; and he aſſiſted theſe adventurers from his private purſe. He likewiſe founded a divinity-lecture at Oxford, and a library at King's College, Cambridge.

Yet, after all his eminent ſervices to his country, this great man gave a remarkable proof at his death (which happened on the ſixth of April 1590), how far he preferred the public to his own intereſt; for, though, beſides his poſt of ſecretary of ſtate, he was chancellor to the duchy of Lancaſter, and to the order of the Garter; he died ſo poor, that his friends were obliged to bury him by night in St. Paul's Church, leſt his body ſhould be arreſted for debt: a circumſtance, of which we have few or no examples; nor is it likely that any of our modern ſtateſmen will make ſuch ſacrifices of their fortunes, acquired in the public ſervice, to the public good. It muſt, however, be acknowledged, that the want of generoſity, and even of juſtice, manifeſted by queen Elizabeth towards this able miniſter, reflects no honour on her character.

But let every generous Britiſh youth bear in grateful remembrance, that the head, the heart, and the purſe of Walſingham, were devoted to his country; that he was eminently inſtrumental in the eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant religion; ruined the machinations of Rome to undermine it; and by his encouragement of navigation, arts, and manufactures, extended the commerce

merce of England to various regions of the habitable globe, till his time unknown by our countrymen.

His negociations, or ſtate-papers, were collected by Sir Dudley Digges, maſter of the rolls, and publiſhed in 1655, folio. A work is likewiſe aſcribed to him, intitled, *Arcana Aulica*, or Walſingham's manual of prudential maxims, which has been often printed; but it is not probable that he was the author.

A maxim, however, which was undoubtedly his, being adapted to perſons of all ranks, and of every age, may ſupply the place, with advantage, of the engraver's tail-piece:

KNOWLEDGE
IS
NEVER TOO DEAR.

*** *Authorities.* Camden's Annals. Lloyd's State Worthies. Melvil's Memoirs. Biog. Britan.

THE LIFE OF

SIR JOHN PERROT,

[A. D. 1527, to 1592.]

WE are now to preſent to the reader one of thoſe genuine Engliſh military characters, with which our hiſtory abounds, whoſe rough, unconquerable valour, noble fierceneſs, and manly ſpirit, untempered by the ſofter paſſions, could only recommend them to future ages, and enrol their names in the regiſters of fame, by heroic actions in the ſervice of their country, performed at ſome particular criſis, when its welfare depended in a great meaſure on the exiſtence of ſuch eccentric beings.

The French ſtyle them ſavage, brutal, and ferocious, but Engliſhmen will know how to ſet a proper value on

on thoſe uncivilized ſons of Mars and Neptune, whoſe daring intrepidity has often been the ſalvation of their country; and they will caſt a veil over the faults and foibles of their domeſtic lives, in conſideration of their glorious actions in the field.

Such indulgence muſt we claim for Sir John Perrot, the reputed ſon of Thomas Perrot, Eſq. of South Wales, by Mary the daughter and heireſs of James Berkeley, Eſq. ſecond ſon to the lord Berkeley; but it was generally believed (according to Lloyd), and many circumſtances in his life will confirm it, that he was the natural ſon of Henry VIII. whom he greatly reſembled both in his perſon and his diſpoſition. An intimacy of a ſuſpicious nature had ſubſiſted between the king and his mother, a ſhort time before ſhe was married to Mr. Perrot; and it is remarkable, that we have no certain indication of the time of his birth, being obliged to compute it only from the æra of his being placed under the care of the marquis of Wincheſter, lord-high-treaſurer, about the year 1545; and it is generally allowed, that he was then eighteen years of age, which calculation fixes his birth to the year we have aſſigned it.

The marquis, following the example of Wolſey, and other ſtateſmen of thoſe times, received young gentlemen of rank and fortune into his houſe, to complete their education, eſpecially ſuch as were deſtined for public life. Young Perrot's reputation for perſonal valour, ſtrength, and dexterity in martial exerciſes, which had been his chief rural ſports, reached London before him, and it ſerved to introduce an extraordinary ſcene in lord Wincheſter's houſe on his arrival, which at once diſcovered the caſt of his diſpoſition.

One of the young noblemen, the lord of Abergavenny, was ſo fierce and haſty, that no ſervant or gentleman in the family could continue quiet for him: but, when young Perrot came, his lordſhip was told, there was now a youth arrived, who would be more than a

match for him, "Is there ſuch a one? (ſaid he), let me ſee him." Upon which, being brought where Perrot was, for the firſt ſalutation, he aſked him, "What, Sir, "are you the kill-cow that muſt match me?" "No, "(ſaid Mr. Perrot), I am no butcher; but, if you uſe "me no better, you ſhall find I can give you a but-"cher's blow." Can you ſo? (ſaid he), I will ſee that." And ſo being both angry, they fell to blows, till lord Abergavenny found himſelf overmatched, and was willing to be parted from him; after which, the ſerving men, and others, when they found the young lord unruly, would threaten him with Mr Perrot.

But this trial of their ſkill produced for a time a reſpectful behaviour to each other which ripened into a ſhort-lived friendſhip: being founded, however, only on a forced reſtraint of their fiery tempers, it was not likely to be permanent. Accordingly, having agreed to make a joint entertainment for their common acquaintance; on the day appointed, they quarrelled, upon what ſubject is not known, and repairing to the buffet, wherein they had provided good ſtore of glaſſes, before their gueſts came, they broke them all about each other's ears, ſo that when they arrived, inſtead of wine, they found blood ſpilled in the chamber, and the reproaches of their mutual friends only ſerved to widen the breach between them.

Shortly after, it was Mr. Perrot's fortune to go into Southwark (as it was ſuppoſed to a houſe of pleaſure), taking only a page with him, where he fell out with two of the king's yeomen. They both drew on him; but he defended himſelf ſo valiantly, that the king, being then at Wincheſter-houſe, near the place, was told how luſtily a young gentleman had fought with two of his majeſty's ſervants. Henry being deſirous to ſee him, ſent for him, demanded his name, country, and kindred. This being boldly by him related, it pleaſed the king very well to ſee ſo much valour and audacity in ſo young a man; and therefore he deſired him to repair

to

to the court, where he would beſtow preferment on him.

It is highly probable, that Perrot took this opportunity of giving the king ſome intimation of his affinity to him; for it will appear by the ſequel, that he all along knew it himſelf; and it is moſt likely that his mother in this view, had contrived to get him placed in the houſe of the marquis of Wincheſter, a ſtep which a private gentleman of Wales would hardly have thought of, if he had not been influenced by his wife, whoſe ſecret motive he could not ſuſpect.

Henry died ſoon after this interview, and it is beyond a doubt, by the early notice taken of him at the court of Edward VI. that he left ſome private inſtructions concerning this youth. For, at the coronation, he was made a knight of the bath; and ſoon after, when the marquis of Southampton went into France to treat of a marriage betwixt king Edward and the French king's daughter, Sir John Perrot accompanied him.

"The marquis being a nobleman who delighted much in all feats of activity, keeping the moſt excellent men that could be found for moſt kinds of ſport, the king of France underſtanding it, engaged him to hunt the wild boar; and, in the chace, it fell out, that a gentleman, charging the boar, did not hit right, ſo that the beaſt was ready to run in upon him; upon which Sir John Perrot, perceiving him to be in danger, came in to his reſcue; and, with a broad ſword, gave the boar ſuch a blow as almoſt parted the head from the ſhoulders.

"The king of France, who ſaw this, came preſently to him, took him about the middle, and, embracing him, called him *Beau-foile*. Our Engliſh knight thinking the king came to try his ſtrength, took his majeſty alſo about the middle, and lifted him up from the ground; with which the king was ſo far from being diſpleaſed, that he offered him a good penſion to ſerve him. To this compliment Sir John Perrot nobly replied, That,

he humbly thanked his majeſty, but he was a gentleman that had means of his own; or, if not, he knew he ſerved a gracious prince, who would not ſee him want, and to whom he had vowed his ſervice during life."

Shortly after, Sir John returned from France, and reſiding chiefly at court, he lived at ſo extravagant a rate, that he involved himſelf in debt, and could not extricate himſelf, though he mortgaged his eſtate.

Thus reduced, he fell upon a ſtratagem to attract the king's attention to his ſituation. He placed himſelf in a bye-part of the court, where he pretended to think himſelf out of hearing; and there, in a melancholy tone of voice, he began to reproach himſelf for his prodigality, and to argue the caſe with himſelf, whether he ſhould continue at court, or ſeek his fortune in the army. The king, as he very well knew, overheard moſt of his ſoliloquy, having paſſed that way and ſtepped behind him. At length diſcovering himſelf, his majeſty thus accoſted him, "How now, Perrot, what is the "matter that you make this great moan?" To whom Sir John replied, with well affected ſurpriſe, "So pleaſe "your majeſty, I did not think that your highneſs had "been there." "Yes (ſaid the king), we heard you "well enough: and have you ſpent your living in our "ſervice; and is the king ſo young and under govern-"ment, that he cannot give you any thing in recom-"pence? Spy out ſomewhat, and you ſhall ſee whether "the king hath not power to beſtow it on you." Then he moſt humbly thanked his majeſty, and ſhortly after found out a concealment of ſome lands or other effects that had been forfeited to the crown; and, on his petition, the king beſtowed them on him; wherewith he paid the greateſt part of his debts, and ever after became a more frugal manager.

Soon after the acceſſion of queen Mary, Sir John Perrot was committed to the Fleet priſon, for harbouring heretics at his houſe in Wales; but through the intereſt of his friends, and the queen's perſonal favour, he

he was releaſed, to the great mortification of one Garderne, his countryman, a bigotted Papiſt, who had lodged the information againſt him. Shortly after he went to St. Quintin, where he had a command under the earl of Pembroke, who at this time lived in the ſtricteſt friendſhip with him; but after their return to England, Sir John ſoon found, that no ties of friendſhip could reſtrain his lordſhip's zeal for Popery. The earl being preſident of Wales, received an order from the queen, not to ſuffer any heretics to remain in Wales; and his friend, Sir John Perrot, being with him at the time, he required his aſſiſtance in carrying it into execution. Perrot refuſing, on conſcientious principles, a quarrel enſued, which came to blows, and they were never after reconciled.

Intelligence of this affair ſoon reached the court, and the bigotted queen was highly diſpleaſed; inſomuch, that Sir John, having at that time a ſuit for the caſtle and lordſhip of Carew, and a promiſe of the grant being given him; when he came to court ſhe would ſcarcely look on him, much leſs give him any good anſwer; which he perceiving, determined not to be baulked with auſtere looks, but preſſed ſo near to the queen, that he fell upon her train, beſeeching her majeſty to remember her promiſe made to him for Carew; wherewith ſhe ſeemed highly offended, and in an angry ſort aſked, "What! Perrot, will you offer "violence to our perſon?" Then he beſought of her pardon for his boldneſs; but ſhe departed with much indignation. Yet ſoon after, Sir John Perrot found friends about the queen, who adviſed her to remit what was paſt, and to refer his ſuit to the lords of the privy-council.

When he came before the council to know their pleaſures, whether he ſhould have Carew, according to the queen's promiſe, Gardiner, biſhop of Wincheſter, began very ſharply to cenſure him, ſaying, "Sir John Perrot, "do you come to ſeek ſuits of the queen? I tell you,

" except you alter your heretical religion, it were more " fit the queen ſhould beſtow faggots than any living " on you." But, when it came to the turn of the earl of Pembroke to deliver his opinion, he, with a truly noble generoſity, eſpouſed his cauſe, in the following terms: " My lords, I muſt tell you my opinion of this " man, and of the matter. For the man, I think he " would, at this time, if he could, eat my heart with " ſalt; but yet, notwithſtanding his ſtomach towards " me, I will give him his due. I hold him to be a man " of good worth, and one who hath deſerved of her ma- " jeſty in her ſervice, as good a matter as this which " he ſeeketh; and will, no doubt, deſerve better if he " reform his religion: therefore, ſince the queen hath " paſſed her gracious promiſe, I ſee no reaſon but he " ſhould have that which he ſeeketh." When they heard the earl of Pembroke ſo favourable, who, they thought would have been moſt vehement againſt him, all the reſt were content; and ſo her majeſty ſhortly af- ter granted him his ſuit.

From this time, the better to avoid all future queſtion concerning his religion, which might put his life in jeo- pardy, he prudently retired into the country. But his ambition and his hopes revived on the acceſſion of queen Elizabeth, from whom he met with a moſt gracious reception, and he had the honour to aſſiſt at her corona- tion, being one of the knights who ſupported her cano- py of ſtate in the proceſſion. And in the firſt year of this reign, Sir John was the principal actor in a roman- tic, rural entertainment, given by the queen and her court, to the French ambaſſador in Greenwich-park. The particulars of which are thus recorded: " Tents being ſet up, and a banquet provided, her majeſty, ac- companied by the ambaſſador, and the principal offi- cers of her court, entered the Park.

" As ſhe paſſed through the gate, a page preſented a ſpeech to her, ſignifying, that there were certain knights come from a far country, who had dedicated their ſer- vices

vices to their ſeveral miſtreſſes, being ladies for beauty, virtue, and other excellencies, incomparable; and, therefore, they had vowed to advance their fame thro' the world, and to adventure combat with ſuch as ſhould be ſo hardy as to affirm, that there were any ladie ſo excellent as the ſaints which they ſerved. And, hearing great fame of a lady which kept her court thereabouts, both for her own excellency, and the worthineſs of many renowned knights which ſhe kept, they were come to try, whether any of her knights would encounter them for the defence of the honour of their miſtreſſes.

"When this ſpeech was ended, the queen ſaid to the page, "Sir Dwarf, you give me very ſhort warning, "but I hope your knights ſhall be anſwered." And then looking about, ſhe aſked the lord-chamberlain, "Shall we be out-bragged by a dwarf?" No, may it "pleaſe your majeſty (anſwered he): Let but a trum-"pet be ſounded, and it ſhall be ſeen, that you keep "men at arms enough to anſwer any proud challenge." Then was the trumpet ſounded, and immediately there iſſued out of the eaſt lane at Greenwich, ſeveral penſioners gallantly armed and mounted.

"The challengers were, the earl of Ormond, the lord North, and Sir John Perrot. Preſently, upon their coming forth, the challengers prepared themſelves. Amongſt the reſt, there was one Mr. Cornwallis, to whoſe turn it fell at length, to run againſt Sir John Perrot. As they both encountered, Sir John, through the unſteadineſs of his horſe, and uncertainty of the courſes in the field, chanced to run Mr. Cornwallis through the hoſe, razing his thigh, and ſomewhat hurting his horſe; wherewith he being offended, and Sir John diſcontented, as they were both choleric, they fell into a challenge to run with ſharp lances, without armour, in the preſence of the queen; which her majeſty hearing of, ſhe would not ſuffer; ſo they were reconciled, and the combat ended, after certain courſes performed

performed on both ſides by the challengers and defendants.

" After finiſhing theſe exerciſes, her majeſty invited the French ambaſſador to partake of the banquet; but a courier arriving, who brought his excellency an account of the tragical end of the king his maſter, Henry II. of France, he craved pardon of her majeſty and retired."

It is very remarkable that the French monarch was accidentally killed at a tournament, given on account of the marriage of the dauphin, afterwards Francis II. with Mary queen of Scots; and this melancholy event principally contributed to the ſuppreſſion of theſe warlike entertainments; at one of which, a Turkiſh ambaſſador being preſent, he obſerved, " that if the com-" batants were in earneſt, it was not enough, if they " were in jeſt, it was too much." *Henault's Hiſtory of France.*

From this time to the year 1572, nothing memorable is related concerning our hero, but in that year, his valour and activity were properly employed, not in idle feats of chivalry but in the ſervice of his country: he was appointed lord-preſident of the province of Munſter in Ireland. This province was in a deſolate condition, having been laid waſte by the earl of Deſmond and his accomplices, who were in actual rebellion againſt the queen, as were many other provinces of that kingdom.

But the principal author of the cruel devaſtations in the province of Munſter, was one Fitz-Morris, the earl of Deſmond's lieutenant.

Sir John Perrot landed at Waterford the firſt of March 1572; and three days after, the rebel Fitz-Morris, by way of defiance, burned the town of Kyllmalog, hanged the chief magiſtrate and others of the townſmen at the high croſs in the market-place, and carried all the plate and wealth of the town with him; with which exploit our new preſident was much diſcontented,

contented, and therefore he haſtened to Dublin to take his oath before the lord-deputy, Sir Henry Sidney, in order to qualify him to proceed with vigour, and without delay, againſt this cruel and arrogant rebel.

Upon his return to Corke, about the tenth of April following, he inſtantly marched with the forces, under his command to Kyllmalog, where he took up his quarters in a houſe that had been partly burnt down, and then iſſued a proclamation, inviting all the inhabitants who had fled to return home; which they did accordingly, and began to build their gates, to repair the town walls, and to rebuild their houſes.

After he had properly fortified this place, and reſtored good order and tranquillity, he purſued the rebels from place to place, with ſuch intrepidity and diligence, and with ſuch good fortune, that they never choſe to come to a regular, deciſive battle with him, only hazarding ſlight ſkirmiſhes, where they had the advantage of ſituation. "Which, Sir John Perrot obſerving, he purſued them night and day without intermiſſion, even in "the midſt of winter, and lay out many nights in the "field both in froſt and ſnow, enduring ſuch hardſhips "as would hardly have been believed, if two of his "followers, men of great credit, had not related them."

The detail of his military exploits in a rude, uncultivated country, would be both tedious as well as unintereſting at this diſtant period. We ſhall therefore only mention, that in leſs than the ſpace of a year, by continual purſuits, by haraſſing the rebel army, and by cutting off their communications, ſo that they could not procure ſupplies either of money, ammunition, or proviſions, he intirely diſperſed the power of Fitz-Morris, and made him glad to ſue for pardon, offering to ſubmit himſelf to the queen's mercy. Which, at length, Sir John Perrot conſented to grant, but in the following humiliating manner, which indeed was a proper puniſhment for a poltroon, who after agreeing to accept

cept a challenge from Sir John to decide the war by ſingle combat, had refuſed to meet him.

Fitz-Morris came to Kyllmalog, where, in the church, the lord-preſident cauſed him to lie proſtrate, putting the point of his ſword to his heart, in token that he had received his life at the queen's hands. Then he took a ſolemn oath to continue a true ſubject to the crown of England, whereby the province of Munſter was reſtored to, and maintained in as good a ſtate of peace and obedience, as any part of Ireland.

The ſeverity he had exerciſed in the courſe of his campaigns, in order to put an end to the rebellion, particularly his hanging up ſome merchants, who ſupplied the rebel forces with proviſions and brandy, and his obliging the earl of Thomond, with other Iriſh noblemen, whom he ſuſpected to be ſecret favourers of the rebellion, to follow his camp, occaſioned ſome heavy complaints to be ſent home againſt him, accuſing him of abuſe of authority and arbitrary proceedings. His temper took fire upon the firſt reproofs tranſmitted to him from the miniſtry of England, and following the natural bent of it, without waiting for leave of abſence, he took ſuch ſteps as he judged moſt prudent, for the preſervation of the public peace in Munſter, made up his accounts, and ſuddenly embarked for England in March 1573.

When Sir John Perrot came to court, it was thought that the queen would have been highly offended at his coming over without licence. Yet as ſoon as he appeared before her, and had related the ſtate of Ireland, the particulars of his ſervices, and the cauſe of his coming over, her majeſty commended his conduct, and deſired him to return ſpeedily to his charge, leſt in his abſence ſome diſturbance might ariſe. To which Sir John anſwered, That for the general ſtate of the province, it was ſo well ſettled, that no new commotion on a ſudden need to be feared. Yet there were many particulars which might be amended without any great difficulty:

culty: which being allowed by her highneſs, he was ready to ſerve her there, whenſoever it ſhould pleaſe her to appoint him. And that the ſame might be the better underſtood, he preſented a plan to the queen, to be conſidered by her majeſty, and her privy-council.

In general, it contained many excellent regulations, but the carrying ſome of them into execution was likely to be attended with greater inconveniences than thoſe he intended to remove, and he himſelf owned the difficulty of accompliſhing ſome points. The fact is he was a better ſoldier than a ſtateſman; but being unable to brook oppoſition, on the council's rejecting his plan, he deſired leave to retire for his health to his eſtate in Wales.

Sir John Perrot had enjoyed his retirement but a few years, when upon intelligence that Fitz-Morris, ſince his ſubmiſſion had been in Spain, and procured the promiſe of ſhips and men to invade Ireland, eſpecially the province of Munſter, the queen and her privy-council ſent for him to take the command of ſuch ſhips and pinnaces as ſhould be made ready, to intercept or interrupt the Spaniſh fleet and forces, which were deſigned for Ireland. Sir John made ſuch ſpeed in his journey, that he came from Pembrokeſhire to Greenwich in leſs than three days. The queen, when ſhe ſaw him, told him, ſhe thought ſhe had not heard from her ſo ſoon; "Yes, madam (anſwered he), and have made as much "haſte as I might to come unto your majeſty." "So "methinks (ſaid the queen), but how have you done "to ſettle your affairs in the country?" May it pleaſe "your majeſty (ſaid Sir John), I have taken this care "for all; that ſetting private buſineſs aſide, in reſpect "of your majeſty's ſervice, I have appointed the white "ſheep to keep the black: for I may well enough ven-"ture them, when I am willing to venture my life in "your majeſty's ſervice." With which anſwer the queen was well pleaſed, and ſhe conferred with him privately for ſome time; then diſmiſſed him, and appointed him

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to receive farther directions for that ſervice from the lords of her privy-council.

After this interview with the queen, he prepared for his expedition with all convenient ſpeed; and the fleet being ready, Sir John left London about Auguſt 1578, and went from thence in his barge, accompanied by ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen. As they lay againſt Greenwich, where the queen kept her court, Sir John ſent one of his gentlemen on ſhore, with a diamond, as a token to Mrs. Blanch Parry, willing him to tell her, that a diamond coming unlooked for did always bring good luck with it: which the queen hearing, ſent Sir John a fair jewel hung by a white cypreſs; ſignifying, that as long as he wore that for her ſake, ſhe believed, with God's help, he ſhould have no harm. The meſſage and jewel Sir John received joyfully, and he returned anſwer to the queen, "That he would wear "that for his ſovereign's ſake, and doubted not, with "God's favour, to return her ſhips in ſafety, and either "to bring the Spaniards (if they came in his way) as "priſoners, or elſe to ſink them in the ſeas." As Sir John paſſed by in his barge, the queen looking out at the window, ſhook her fan, and put out her hand towards him, upon which he made a low obeiſance, while he put the ſcarf and jewel about his neck; and then repaired to his ſquadron, which was riding at anchor off Gillingham, and conſiſted of three ſhips of the line and three pinnaces. He ſailed from thence to the Downs, and paſſing by Falmouth and Plymouth put to ſea for Ireland, where they arrived at Baltimore, a ſea-port town in the province of Munſter. The people, in grateful remembrance of his former government of this country, appeared in great numbers upon the ſhore; upon his landing, ſome embracing his legs, and others preſſing to touch any part of the body of their deliverer from the cruelties of Deſmond and Fitz-Morris: but theſe marks of their affection had nearly produced fatal conſequences; for the vice-admiral, miſtaking them for

for ſome hoſtile intention, had pointed his guns to fire upon them, which Sir John perceiving, inſtantly ſent off a boat with proper ſignals, to invite him on ſhore, where they were kindly entertained.

The ſquadron remained on the coaſt till the ſeaſon was far advanced, and intelligence was received that the Spaniards had laid aſide their deſign for that year, when it was ordered home. In the courſe of this voyage, Sir John met with one Derryfield, a noted pirate, whom he took, but in the chace he very narrowly eſcaped ſhipwreck: and a ſecond accident happened to him on entering the Downs, when his ſhip ſtruck on the Kentiſh-knocks, from which ſhe was got off with great difficulty.

Sir John Perrot was graciouſly received at court, and permitted to retire to his eſtate at Wales; but the affairs of Ireland ſtill remained in a turbulent, unſettled ſtate, except in the province of Munſter. In other parts, rebellion, and lawleſs licentiouſneſs deſtroyed all order, and rendered private property, as well as the lives of the inhabitants, inſecure. In this ſituation of things, Sir Henry Sidney, the lord deputy, who had found that poſt full of trouble and danger, without any proportion of reputation or profit, ſolicited leave to reſign; and having obtained it, Sir William Drury was advanced to that dignity; and in 1579, the firſt year of his adminiſtration, the Spaniards, to the number of 1500, made a deſcent on the coaſt, and joined the rebels under the earl of Deſmond. But they were all taken priſoners, and put to the ſword the following year, and Deſmond ſuffered death as a traitor; yet his party continued to carry on the rebellion in his name. In ſhort, the troubles of the country increaſing daily, and no commander being to be found of equal intrepidity and capacity for the ſervice, Sir John Perrot, by the advice of Walſingham, who continually correſponded with him on Iriſh affairs, was appointed lord deputy of Ireland in 1583; and taking with him the

earl of Ormond, a veteran in the Iriſh ſervice, and who beſides had great intereſt there, he embarked at Milford-haven, and arrived at Dublin in the ſpring of the year.

Sir John Perrot, before his departure, had drawn up a plan for the government of Ireland, which had been approved by the queen and council; and as if there had been magic in his very name, his landing in Ireland ſtruck the rebels of every faction with a panic. But when it was known that he propoſed to make a progreſs through the country, many conſiderable parties came to Dublin, and made their ſubmiſſion, taking the oaths to the queen, and giving hoſtages for their future good behaviour. But O'Neale, O'Donnel, Connaught, and ſeveral other conſiderable Iriſh chiefs, ſtill remained in arms, and were ſupported from Rome by the pope with money, while the Spaniards occaſionally landed ſmall detachments of men, headed by veteran officers, to diſcipline the raw Iriſh rebels.

A reſolution, therefore, which had been taken in England to proceed in a ſummary way with the rebels, both with reſpect to their perſons and eſtates, was carried into execution with great rigour; and many innocent perſons ſuffering with the guilty, this raiſed a great clamour againſt the lord deputy, who was charged with exceeding the bounds of his commiſſion. His commiſſion empowered him to execute the rebels as traitors by martial law, when found in arms, and to ſell their eſtates on the ſpot to any adventurers, at eaſy rates, who would undertake to cultivate and improve the land. This brought over many followers of fortune from England, men often of bad characters, but poſſeſſed of money to buy the forfeited eſtates; and the lord deputy was accuſed of favouring the rapacity of theſe purchaſers, and of hanging ſome conſiderable men, whoſe guilt was not very apparent, in his choler, that he might put an end to the rebellion on their extenſive eſtates, by the ſale of the lands to Engliſh purchaſers.

chaſers. The charges however, though vague and ill-ſupported, were founded upon the abuſes of the purchaſers. Whole baronies were expoſed to ſale, (into which the Iriſh counties were divided, as the Engliſh are into hundreds;) and the proprietors turned the innocent Iriſh as well as the guilty out of their poſſeſſions. Yet the meaſure was political, for the chiefs, ſeeing that they ſhould not only ruin themſelves, but all their poſterity, by remaining in arms againſt the queen, came in bodies to the lord deputy in his progreſs, to ſurrender in time, particularly O'Neale and all his adherents, and the lords of Ulſter, who ſwore fidelity to the queen, and gave hoſtages, that they would raiſe troops for her ſervice againſt the other rebels.

But Sir John Perrot's temper was ſuited only to the field. His haughtineſs and impatience of controul in the council made him unfit for the milder duties of civil government; and, therefore, every remonſtrance from the queen and her miniſtry, founded on complaints ſent home againſt him, exaſperated him beyond meaſure; and upon theſe occaſions he would vent his wrath in the moſt diſreſpectful and indecent terms againſt the queen. Theſe unguarded expreſſions were taken down in writing by Williamſon, his ſecretary, who had been brought over by the lord chancellor of Ireland, and by the archbiſhop of Dublin, who ſent over an impeachment againſt him, little regarded by him; for he relied ſo much on the merit of his military ſervices, that he did not take any pains to ſecure any evidences in Ireland, to appear in his favour.

At length, however, partly owing to the delicate ſituation of affairs, and partly to his own haughty diſpoſition, he diſpleaſed the Engliſh as well as the Iriſh; for the queen having ſent over a proclamation to repreſs the rapaciouſneſs of the former, with reſpect to abuſes in the purchaſes and poſſeſſion of the forfeited eſtates, he executed it with ſuch rigour, that the country reaped the benefit, many of the natives being reinſtated.

inſtated. But it made the Engliſh outrageous againſt him: and as to the Iriſh nobility, their neareſt relations having been either executed by him, or deprived of their eſtates, they ſecretly ſought his ruin. In a word, he met with the fate of all conquerors, he was deteſted; but he had this conſolation, that he did not conquer for himſelf, but for his ſovereign, who certainly ſhould have overlooked his paſſionate temper, in conſideration of his delivering her from very imminent danger, the rebels in Ireland being all along ſupported by her foreign and domeſtic enemies. At the ſame time, Sir John Perrot was highly culpable for ſlighting the rebukes he received from England upon ſome occaſions, and for reſenting them at others, inſtead of condeſcending to juſtify himſelf in his diſpatches. At length, the diſcontent ran ſo high againſt him in Ireland, and the queen herſelf was ſo diſpleaſed with his ill behaviour to her, that ſhe recalled him in 1588. And this led him into another error, the conſequence of his proud ſpirit; inſtead of embarking for London, and making uſe of his remaining intereſt at court, he ſet ſail from Dublin for his caſtle of Carew in Pembrokeſhire, and arrived there with a numerous and ſplendid retinue.

Such a ſtep could not fail of alarming the queen, eſpecially as it was now reported, and afterwards made an article of his impeachment, that he held a ſecret correſpondence with the duke of Parma and the queen's foreign enemies.

The articles ſent over from Ireland were therefore laid before the privy-council; the attorney-general was ordered to prepare an indictment of high-treaſon upon them, and he was taken into cuſtody. At firſt, he was brought to the lord treaſurer's houſe, and confined there; but how long is uncertain; nor are we able to account for a ſpace of near four years, between his arrival at the caſtle of Carew and his trial. All that we can find on record is, that he was committed to the

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Tower, and from thence brought to his trial, on the 27th of April 1592, in Weſtminſter-hall, a ſpecial commiſſion being granted for that purpoſe to the lord chancellor and the two chief juſtices.

The only charge proved againſt him was, his having treated the perſon and character of the queen contumeliouſly; but by the artful management of Popham, the attorney-general, who admitted men of the moſt abandoned principles and characters to be evidences againſt him, he was convicted upon the other articles of the accuſation, which were, that he had relieved Popiſh prieſts—that he held a ſecret correſpondence with the queen's foreign enemies—and that he had foſtered the commotions in Ireland. Nothing could be more abſurd than the laſt article, ſince it was evident, on the contrary, that Ireland had never been in ſuch a ſtate of tranquillity and of allegiance to the queen, as when he preſided over it. But the true motive of his condemnation was, his own imprudent boaſtings, that he was the queen's brother, that ſhe knew his value in Ireland too well to let him fall a ſacrifice to his friſking adverſaries; and that whenever the Spaniards landed a force in Ireland to join the diſaffected there, he ſhould then be cheriſhed again, and be, once more, one of her White Boys.

In a word, finding he had deceived himſelf by an ill-grounded confidence in the ſecret of his birth, and his great military ſervices, his violent paſſions, after ſentence of death was paſſed upon him, which happened in June, preyed on his conſtitution, and in September following he died in the Tower, and left it doubtful whether Elizabeth intended to have pardoned him.

Thus fell Sir John Perrot, the introducer of military diſcipline amongſt the natives of Ireland. And thus have we given a ſhort ſketch of the ſtate of affairs in that kingdom, the better to complete our annals of the reign of Elizabeth.

* * *Authorities.* Cox's Hiſt. of Ireland. Life of Sir John Perrot, 8vo. 1728. Biog. Britain. Salmon's Chron. Hiſt.

THE LIFE OF

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE.

[A. D. 1545, to 1596.]

THIS celebrated Engliſh navigator, and brave naval officer, was the ſon of Edmund Drake, a mariner, and was born at a village near Taviſtock in Devonſhire, in the year 1545. He was the eldeſt of twelve brethren, and the father being diſtreſſed by ſo large a family, Captain Hawkins, his mother's relation (afterwards the famous admiral Sir John Hawkins,) kindly took him under his patronage, and gave him an education ſuitable to the ſea-ſervice. Through the intereſt of his patron, at the age of eighteen, he was made purſer of a ſhip trading to the Bay of Biſcay. At twenty, he made a voyage to Guinea; at the age of twenty-two, he was appointed captain of the Judith; and, in that capacity, he was in the harbour of St John de Ulloa, in the gulph of Mexico; where he behaved very gallantly in the glorious action under Sir John Hawkins; and returned to England with a riſing reputation, but totally deſtitute, having loſt the little property he had acquired in his former ſtation, by this unfortunate expedition, in conſequence of the treachery of the Spaniards.

Soon after this, he conceived a deſign of making repriſals on the king of Spain; which, according to ſome, was put into his head by the chaplain of the ſhip: and, indeed, the caſe was clear in ſea divinity, ſays Dr Campbell, "that the ſubjects of the king of Spain had

had undone Mr Drake, and therefore he was at liberty to take the beſt ſatisfaction he could on them in return." This doctrine, however roughly preached, was very taking in England; and, therefore, no ſooner did he publiſh his deſign, than he had numbers of volunteers ready to accompany him, though not actuated by the ſame motives, and without any ſuch pretence to colour their proceedings as he had.

In 1570, he made his firſt voyage with two ſhips, the Dragon and the Swan; and the next year, in the Swan alone: from which laſt expedition he returned ſafe, if not rich. Though we have no particular account of theſe two voyages, or what Drake performed in them, yet nothing is clearer than that captain Drake had two points in view. The one was, to inform himſelf perfectly of the ſituation and ſtrength of certain places in the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies; the other, to convince his countrymen, that, notwithſtanding what had happened to captain Hawkins, in his laſt voyage, it was a thing very practicable to ſail into theſe parts, and return in ſafety. For it is to be obſerved, that Hawkins and Drake ſeparated in the Weſt-Indies; and that the former finding it impoſſible to bring all the crew home to England, had ſet part of them, with their own conſent, aſhore in the bay of Mexico; and, indeed, few of theſe finding their way home, the terror of ſuch a captivity as they were known to endure had diſheartened our ſeamen. But captain Drake, in theſe two voyages, having very wiſely avoided coming to blows with the Spaniards, and bringing home ſufficient returns to ſatisfy his owners, diſſipated theſe apprehenſions, and eſtabliſhed his own character: ſo that, at his return from his ſecond voyage, he found it no difficult matter to raiſe ſuch a force as might enable him to perform what he had long meditated in his own mind, which otherwiſe he would never have been able to effect.

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Without loſs of time, therefore, he laid the plan of a more important deſign; which he put in execution on the 25th of March, 1572: for, on that day, he ſailed from Plymouth, in a ſhip called the Paſeta, burden ſeventy tons; and his brother, John Drake, in the Swan, of twenty-five tons; their whole ſtrength conſiſting of only ſeventy-three men, and boys. But they were all provided with ammunition and proviſions, and in caſe of an accident happening to either of the ſhips, or an occaſion preſenting of approaching nearer to any place, than the ſhips could lie, they had three pinnaces on board, framed and fitted in ſuch a dextrous manner, that they could eaſily be put together, by the ſhips-carpenters, when wanted. With this ſmall armament, on the 22d of July, in the year following, they attacked the town of Nombre de Dios, which then ſerved the Spaniards for the ſame purpoſes as Porto-Bello does now. He took it in a few hours by ſtorm, but he made little or no advantage of this conqueſt, owing to the cowardice of part of his followers, who were ordered to guard the pinnaces, while the reſt were taking poſſeſſion of the immenſe wealth contained in the king's treaſury. In one room they ſaw bars of ſilver piled up againſt the wall; as near as they could gueſs, each bar weighing about thirty or forty pounds, and and the pile meaſuring 70 feet in length, 10 in breadth, and 12 in height. But the town being ſtill full of people, the Engliſh ſailors in the pinnaces miſtook the flying parties for large detachments, who were coming to overpower them, and to cut off their communication with their ſhips.

Drake, however, ſent his brother to pacify them; but nearly at the ſame time, this gallant officer fainted with loſs of blood from a dangerous wound he had received in his leg during the aſſault, which he had till then carefully concealed, that he might not diſhearten his people. Upon his recovery, he inſiſted on completing their victory, by making themſelves maſters

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of the treaſure; but the major part of his followers, apprehenſive for their own ſafety, in caſe they ſhould loſe their commander, partly by intreaties or partly by force, carried him off to the pinnaces, and then ſet ſail for the ſhips, content with the booty that they had taken, but abandoning the richeſt ſpoil, ſays Lediard, that ever raiſed the expectations of ſuch adventurers, amounting, as they were afterwards informed, to 360 tons of ſilver, beſides ſeveral iron cheſts of gold, of far greater value.

His next attempt was to plunder the mules laden with ſilver, which paſſed from Vera Cruz to Nombre de Dios; but in this too he failed: however, attacking the former town, he carried it, and got ſome little plunder. In their return, they unexpectedly met with fifty mules laden with plate; of which they carried off as much as poſſible, and buried the reſt. In theſe enterpriſes, he was very greatly aſſiſted by a nation of Indians, perpetually engaged in war with the Spaniards. The prince, or captain of this tribe, whoſe name was Pedro, captain Drake preſented with a fine cutlaſs, which he ſaw the Indian admired. In return, Pedro gave him four large wedges of gold; which captain Drake threw into the common ſtock, ſaying, he thought it but juſt, that ſuch as bore the charge of ſo uncertain a voyage, on his credit, ſhould ſhare all the advantages that voyage produced. Then embarking his men, with a very conſiderable booty, he bore away for England; and in twenty-three days ſailed from Cape Florida to the iſles of Scilly; and from thence arrived ſafe at Plymouth in Auguſt 1573.

His ſucceſs in this expedition, joined to his generous behaviour to his owners, gained him great reputation; and, in 1575, fitting out three frigates at his own expence, he ſailed with them to Ireland; where, in the capacity of a volunteer, under Walter earl of Eſſex, the father of the unfortunate favourite, he performed many gallant exploits, and was ſo highly in favour with the

the earl, that he recommended him to Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, vice-chamberlain to the queen, in a letter written but a ſhort time before his death, which ſerved him as an introduction to her Majeſty in 1576, who from this time took him under her own immediate protection. Thus countenanced at court, his fellow-citizens were ſtill more animated to engage in any adventure he ſhould project, and he was enabled to undertake that grand expedition which will immortalize his name. The firſt thing he propoſed was a voyage into the South-Seas, through the Streights of Magellan, hitherto unattempted by any Engliſhman. This project was well received at court, and captain Drake ſoon ſaw himſelf at the height of his wiſhes; for, in his former voyage, having had a diſtant proſpect of the South-Seas, he ardently prayed to God that he might ſail an Engliſh ſhip in them; which now he found an opportunity of attempting.

The ſmall fleet with which he ſailed on this extraordinary enterprize, conſiſted of the following ſhips: viz. The Pelican, of 100 tons, commanded by himſelf; the Elizabeth, vice-admiral, of 80 tons, under the command of captain John Winter; the Marygold, a bark of 50 tons, under captain John Thomas; the Swan, a fly-boat of 30 tons; and the Chriſtopher, a pinnace of 15 tons, under captain Thomas Moon. In this fleet the whole number of hands embarked amounted to no more than 164 able men, with all neceſſary proviſions for ſo long and dangerous a voyage; the intent of which was, however, not publicly declared, but given out to be for Alexandria, though it was generally ſuſpected, and many knew, that it was deſigned for America.

On the 15th of November, 1577, captain Drake ſailed from Plymouth, but was forced, by a violent ſtorm, into Falmouth, in a very bad condition. But ſuch was his activity and diligence, that he put to ſea again, on the 13th of December; on the 25th of the

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ſame month, he fell-in with the coaſt of Barbary; and, on the 29th, with Cape de Verd. The 13th of March he paſſed the line; the 5th of April he made the coaſt of Brazil, and entered the river de la Plata, where he miſſed the Swan, and the pinnace; but, meeting them again, and taking out all their hands and the proviſions they had on board, he turned them adrift. On the 20th of May, he entered the port of St Julian, to take in proviſions.

After he had continued about two months in port St Julian, lying within one degree of the Streights of Magellan, to make the neceſſary preparations for paſſing the Streights with ſafety, on a ſudden, having carried the principal perſons engaged in the ſervice to a deſart iſland lying in the bay, he called a court-martial, where he opened his commiſſion; by which the queen granted him the power of life and death, which was delivered to him with this remarkable expreſſion from her own mouth: "We do account that he, Drake, who ſtrikes at thee, does ſtrike at us." He then laid open, with great eloquence, the cauſe of the aſſembly; for though his education had been ſlender, he was an excellent ſpeaker, and proceeded to charge Mr John Doughty, who had been ſecond in command during the whole voyage, firſt, with plotting to murder him, and then to ruin the enterprize.

"I had," ſaid he, "the firſt notice of this gentleman's intentions before he left England, but was in hopes my behaviour to him would have extinguiſhed ſuch diſpoſitions, if there had been any truth in the information."

He then appealed for his behaviour to the whole aſſembly, and to the gentleman accuſed: he next expoſed his practices from the time they left England, while he behaved towards him with all the kindneſs and cordiality of a brother; ſupporting his charge by producing papers under his own hand; on which Mr Doughty made a full and free confeſſion. After this, the

the captain, or, as he was called, the general, quitted his place, telling the aſſembly he expected that they ſhould paſs a verdict upon him; for he would be no judge in his own cauſe.

Camden ſays he was tried by a jury. The accounts affirm, that the whole forty perſons of whom the court conſiſted, adjudged him to death, and gave this in writing under their hands and ſeals, leaving the time and manner of it to the general. Upon this, captain Drake, having maturely weighed the whole affair, gave Mr Doughty his choice of three things. Firſt, to be executed on the iſland where they were; ſecondly, to be ſet aſhore on the main land; or, laſtly, to be ſent home to abide the juſtice of his country. After deſiring till the next day to conſider of theſe, he declared, it is ſaid, that he made the firſt his choice; and afterwards received the ſacrament with the general, from the hands of Mr Francis Fletcher, chaplain to the fleet, in the morning, and dined chearfully with the officers, of whom he ſeverally took leave, as if he had been going a journey. Dinner being ended, he walked very compoſedly to the place prepared for his execution, and ſubmitting to his fate with aſtoniſhing fortitude and ſerenity, he was beheaded, in July, 1578.

This is the moſt authentic account of his cataſtrophe; but as it was well known that the earl of Leiceſter bore a mortal hatred to Doughty, for having accuſed him of poiſoning Walter, Earl of Eſſex, it was credited by many at the time, and has been tranſmitted to us, by ſome hiſtorians, that Drake had ſecret orders from Leiceſter, then in power, to take him off, on ſome pretence or other, and that being both a ſkilful mariner and a man of great courage and conduct, Drake, jealous of his riſing fame, readily conſented to execute this ſecret bloody commiſſion. But as the imputation is not ſupported by any ſatisfactory evidence, the moſt humane and candid method, in all ſuch caſes, is, to try the accuſation by the general character of

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the accuſed. On this equitable ſyſtem, Drake muſt ſtand acquitted.

This iſland had been the ſcene of another tragedy of the ſame kind, 58 years before, when Magellan cauſed John de Carthagena, who was joined in commiſſion with him by the king of Spain, to be hanged for the like offence; and from hence it was called the iſland of *True Juſtice*.

Drake left St Julian on the 17th of Auguſt, on the 20th he entered the Streights of Magellan, and after a difficult navigation he paſſed them on the 25th of September, and found himſelf in the Great South-Sea. Here he met with ſuch tempeſtous weather, that he was forced back to the weſtward near 100 leagues, and the Marygold, captain Thomas, was loſt. Near the 57th degree of ſouth-latitude, he entered a bay, where he found a naked people, ranging from one iſland to another in canoes, in ſearch of proviſions. Sailing northward from thence, on the 3d of October, he found three iſlands, in one of which was an extraordinary plenty of birds. On the 8th, he loſt ſight of the Elizabeth, captain John Winter, who returned through the Streights, and arrived ſafe in England, on the 2d of June 1579, being the firſt ſhip that ever made that paſſage homewards.

Captain Drake had now only his own ſhip, which he had new-named the Hind, with which he arrived at Macao on the 25th of November, 1758; and from thence ſailing along the coaſts of Chili and Peru, he greatly annoyed the Spaniards, taking and deſtroying ſeveral ſhips, and frequently landing to ſeize on rich booties, till his crew were ſatiated with plunder; when he boldly attempted to find a paſſage by North America, ſailing to the latitude of 42 degrees; but then meeting with ſevere cold, and open ſhores covered with ſnow, he returned back to 38 degrees of latitude, and there put into a harbour in the north part of California, where he was kindly received by the Indian in-

habitants, who were ſo highly pleaſed with him, that they offered to make him their king.

To this country Drake gave the name of *New Albion;* and erecting a ſtone pillar, he placed an inſcription thereon, with the name, ſtyle, and titles of queen Elizabeth, denoting his having taken poſſeſſion of the country for his ſovereign; to which was added his own name, and the date of this tranſaction. Some of the queen's coin were likewiſe depoſited under its baſe; and then, after careening his ſhip, he ſet ſail for the Molucca iſlands. He choſe this paſſage round, rather than to return by the Streights of Magellan; partly from the danger of being attacked by the Spaniards, and partly from the lateneſs of the ſeaſon, when dreadful ſtorms and hurricanes were to be apprehended.

On the 13th of October, 1579, Drake fell in with certain iſlands, inhabited by the moſt barbarous people he had met with in all his voyage. On the 4th of November he had ſight of the Moluccas; and coming to the iſland of Ternate, was extremely well received by the king of that iſland, who ſeems to have been a wiſe and polite prince. On the 10th of December he made Celebes, where his ſhip ſtruck upon a rock, on the 9th of January, 1580, from which ſhe was got off with great difficulty, after being in the utmoſt peril for twenty-ſeven hours, and under the neceſſity of throwing over-board eight of her guns, and ſome valuable merchandiſe. Then touching at Java, where he received great civilities from one of the kings of the iſland, he continued his courſe for the Cape of Good Hope, and from thence to Rio Grande in Negroland; where taking in water, he ſet ſail for England, and arrived ſafe at Plymouth, on the 25th of September, 1580; having ſailed round the globe, in leſs than three years, to the great admiration of the people of thoſe times.

Drake's

Drake's ſucceſs in this voyage, and the immenſe treaſure he brought home with him, became the general topic of converſation, ſome highly commending, and others as loudly cenſuring him. In this uncertainty matters continued during the remainder of this year, and the ſpring of the next; when, at length, on the 4th of April, her Majeſty going to Deptford, went on board Drake's ſhip; where, after dinner, ſhe conferred the honour of knighthood on him, and declared her abſolute approbation of all he had done. She alſo gave directions for the preſervation of his ſhip, that it might remain a monument in honour of himſelf and his country. But this famous veſſel, which for many years had been viewed with admiration at Deptford, being decayed, was at length broken up, and a chair made out of the planks was preſented, by John Davies Eſq; to the univerſity of Oxford, where it is ſtill preſerved.

In the year 1585, Sir Francis, now admiral Drake, was ſent on an expedition againſt the Spaniſh Weſt-India ſettlements, with a fleet of twenty-one ſail, having on board 2000 land forces, under the command of Chriſtopher Carliſle. Taking the Cape Verd Iſlands in their way, they landed at St Jago, and taking the chief town of the ſame name, they ſacked it, and carried off a conſiderable booty. From thence they proceeded to Hiſpaniola, and took St Domingo, Carthagena, and St Auguſtine; by which he exceeded the moſt ſanguine hope of his warmeſt friends. Yet the profits of this voyage were but moderate, Sir Francis's inſtructions being, rather to weaken the enemy, than to take prizes.

Two years after, he proceeded to Liſbon with a fleet of thirty ſail; and, receiving intelligence of a conſiderable fleet aſſembled in the bay of Cadiz, intended to make part of the Spaniſh armada, he bravely entered that port, and burnt upwards of ten thouſand tons of ſhipping: then, having advice of a large Caracca

ſhip expected at the iſland of Tercera from the Eaſt-Indies, he ſailed thither; and, though his men were in great want of proviſions, he prevailed on them to go through thoſe hardſhips for a few days; in which time the Eaſt-India ſhip arriving, he took and carried her home in triumph. This capture was of very great importance; for, beſides the value of the treaſure on board, eſtimated at 200,000 crowns, it gave the Engliſh merchants the firſt idea of the profitable traffic carried on with the Eaſt-Indies, and was the occaſion of eſtabliſhing the firſt Eaſt India company.

The general applauſe beſtowed on him, when he returned from this glorious expedition, was heightened into grateful admiration, when it was obſerved what a laudable uſe he made of the wealth he had acquired from the enemies of his country.

In the year 1588, Sir Francis undertook to convey water to the town of Plymouth, for want of which, till then, it was greatly diſtreſſed; and performed it by bringing thither a ſtream from ſprings at the diſtance of eight miles, if the diſtance be meaſured in a ſtrait line; but in the manner by which he conducted it, the courſe it runs is upwards of twenty miles.

This year alſo, he was appointed vice-admiral under lord Charles Howard of Effingham, high-admiral of England, and ſignalized himſelf in the engagements with the Spaniſh armada. Here he was as fortunate as ever, for he took a very large galleon, commanded by Don Pedro de Valdez, who yielded without ſtriking a blow, at the bare mention of his name. This Don Pedro remained above two years Sir Francis Drake's priſoner in England, and, when he was releaſed, he paid for himſelf and his two captains, a ranſom of 3500l. In his ſhip were found upwards of 50,000 ducats, which Drake generouſly diſtributed among his ſailors and ſoldiers. It muſt, however, be owned, that, through an overſight of his, the admiral ran a great hazard of being taken by the enemy; for

Drake

Drake was appointed, the firſt night of the engagement, to carry lights in his ſhip for the direction of the Engliſh fleet; but, being in purſuit of ſome hulks belonging to the Hans-towns, he neglected it; which occaſioned the admiral's following the Spaniſh lights, and in the morning he found himſelf in the centre of the enemy's fleet. But his ſucceeding ſervices ſufficiently atoned for this overſight, the greateſt execution done on the flying Spaniards being performed by his ſquadron. But of this boaſted Armada, and its defeat, a more ſatisfactory account will be found in the life of the lord high admiral Howard.

In 1589, Sir Francis Drake was appointed admiral of the fleet ſent to reſtore Don Antonio, king of Portugal, and the command of the land forces was given to Sir John Norris. But the fleet was ſcarcely at ſea, before the commanders differed. On this occaſion the general was earneſt for landing at the Groyne, whereas the admiral and ſea-officers were for ſailing directly to Liſbon; in which, had their advice been taken, doubtleſs their enterprize had ſucceeded, and Don Antonio been reſtored; for the enemy made ſuch good uſe of their time in fortifying Liſbon, that no impreſſion could be made. Sir John, indeed, marched by land to Liſbon; and Sir Francis promiſed to ſail up the river with his whole fleet, but, upon perceiving the conſequences, he choſe rather to break his word than hazard the queen's navy: for which he was highly reproached by Norris, and the miſcarriage of the whole affair imputed to the failure of his promiſe. Yet Sir Francis juſtified himſelf on his return; for, he ſhewed the queen and council, that whatever was done there, for the credit of the nation, was performed ſolely by the fleet, and by his orders; in conſequence of which, a large fleet, laden with naval ſtores from the Hans-towns, was taken, with a great quantity of ammunition and artillery on board: that his ſailing up the river of Liſbon would have ſignified nothing to the

taking the caſtle, which was two miles off; and that, without reducing it, there was no taking the city.

The war with Spain ſtill continuing in 1595, and it being evident, that nothing diſtreſſed the enemy ſo much as the loſſes they met with in the Weſt-Indies, an offer was made to the queen, by Sir John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake, to ſet on foot a more effectual expedition to thoſe parts than had hitherto been attempted: at the ſame time, they agreed to bear a great part of the expence, and to engage their friends to aſſiſt them. The queen readily liſtened to this propoſal, and furniſhed a ſtout ſquadron of ſhips of war, on board one of which, the Garland, Sir John Hawkins embarked. Their whole force conſiſted of twenty-ſeven ſhips and barks, having on board a land-force conſiſting of 2500 men. The fleet was detained ſome time after it was ready on the Engliſh coaſts by the arts of the Spaniards, who, receiving intelligence of its ſtrength and deſtination, gave out, that they were ready themſelves to invade England; and to render this the more probable, they actually ſent four gallies to make a deſcent on the coaſt of Cornwall. This had the deſired effect; for the queen and the nation being thereby alarmed, thought it by no means adviſeable to ſend ſo great a number of ſhips on ſo long a voyage, at that critical juncture. At laſt, this alarm blowing over, the fleet ſet ſail; but when out at ſea, the admirals differed: Drake and Baſkerville, the commander of the land forces, determined, againſt the advice of Hawkins, to attack the chief of the Canary iſlands, inſtead of proceeding directly to Porto Rico, where the richeſt of the galleons lay at anchor. The failure of the deſign on the Canary iſlands, ſhewed, that Hawkins was right, for they could not recover the time they loſt there.

The day after the death of admiral Hawkins, in whoſe life will be found farther particulars of the expedition,

pedition, Sir Francis made his deſperate attack on the ſhipping in the harbour of Porto Rico, in purſuance of a reſolution taken by a council of war. This was performed with all imaginable courage, and with conſiderable loſs to the Spaniards, but with little advantage to the Engliſh, who, meeting with a ſtronger reſiſtance and better fortifications than they expected, were obliged to ſheer off. The admiral then ſteered for the main, where he took the town of Rio de la Hache, which, (a church and a lady's houſe excepted) he burnt to the ground. After this, deſtroying ſome other villages, he proceeded to Santa Martha, which he alſo burned. Nombro de Dios finally ſhared the ſame fate, the Spaniards refuſing to ranſom theſe places; and in them an inconſiderable booty was taken. On the 29th of December, Sir Thomas Baſkerville, commander of the troops, marched with 750 men towards Panama, but returned on the 2d of January, finding the deſign of reducing that place wholly impracticable: ſo that the whole of this expedition was a ſeries of misfortunes. If they had gone at firſt to Porto Rico, they had done the queen's buſineſs and their own: if, when they had intelligence of the Spaniſh ſuccours being landed there, they had proceeded directly to the iſthmus, in order to have executed their deſigns againſt Panama, before their forces had been weakened by that deſperate attack, they might poſſibly have accompliſhed their firſt intention; but graſping at too many things ſpoiled all.

A very ſtrong ſenſe of this threw Sir Francis Drake into a deep melancholy; and brought on a bloody flux, the natural diſeaſe of the country, which put a period to his uſeful life. His body, according to the cuſtom of the ſea, was ſunk very near the place, where he firſt laid the foundation of his fame and fortune. Such was the end of this great man. His death was lamented by the whole nation, but more eſpecially by thoſe of his native place, who had

had great reaſons to love him from the circumſtances of his private life, as well as to eſteem him in his public character. He had been elected burgeſs for the town of Boſſiney in Cornwall, in the parliament held the twenty-ſeventh of queen Elizabeth, and afterwards for Plymouth in Devonſhire, in the thirty-fifth of the ſame reign. Having hitherto chiefly confined ourſelves to his public tranſactions, it may not be unacceptable to add a few words concerning his perſon and his private character

He was low of ſtature, but well ſet, had a broad open cheſt, his eyes large and clear, of a fair complexion, with a freſh, chearful, and engaging countenance. As navigation had been his whole ſtudy, he was a perfect maſter in every branch of it, eſpecially aſtronomy, and the application of it to the nautical art. His voyage round the world is an inconteſtible proof of his courage, capacity, patience, and public ſpirit; ſince he performed every thing that could be expected from a man, who preferred the honour and profit of his country to his own private advantage. And it is apparent, that if Sir Francis Drake amaſſed a large fortune by continually expoſing himſelf to labours and perils, which hardly any other man would have undergone, for the ſake even of the greateſt expectations, he was far from being governed by a narrow and private ſpirit. On the contrary, his notions were free and noble, and the nation ſtands indebted to him for many advantages which ſhe at preſent enjoys in arms, navigation, and commerce.

He is repreſented as having been choleric in his temper, and too fond of flattery; but to counterbalance theſe foibles, he was a ſteady friend, and very liberal to thoſe who ſerved under him. It is alſo obſerved, that in his proſperity he was always affable and eaſy of acceſs.

This great man left no iſſue; and his landed eſtate, which was very conſiderable, deſcended to his nephew Francis

Francis, (the ſon of his brother Thomas) who was created a baronet in the reign of James I.

*** *Authorities.* Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. Biog. Britan. Rapin's Hiſt. of England.

THE LIFE OF

SIR JOHN HAWKINS.

[A. D. 1520, to 1598.]

Including Memoirs of SIR RICHARD HAWKINS, his Son, and of SIR MARTIN FROBISHER.

THE improvements made by the Spaniards in navigation towards the cloſe of the fifteenth, and early in the ſixteenth century, and the viſible effects they had produced in agrandizing that kingdom, excited a noble ſpirit of emulation in other nations to attempt diſcoveries by ſea, in the then unknown regions of the globe; and in this deſign no people manifeſted ſuch a genius for bold and hazardous enterpriſes on the ocean as the Engliſh. But their ardour and indefatigable induſtry being checked by domeſtic troubles during the reigns of Henry VIII. Edward VI. and Mary, the plans which had been formed in private, for extending the maritime power and commerce of England, could not be carried into execution with any proſpect of national ſucceſs, till theſe troubles had in ſome degree ſubſided, and the government had acquired a proper ſtrength and ſtability.

The ſucceſsful navigations, therefore, of our countrymen, which ended in permanent commercial ſettlements, began late in the ſixteenth century, and their fortunate iſſue was owing to a variety of concurrent circumſtances which deſerve our notice.

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The private adventures of the merchants of Southampton, who had traded to the Brazils as early as 1540, had thrown a great light upon the nature of the profitable trade carried on by the Spaniards from the Weſt-Indies, and the South-Seas, with Europe; and had laid open the ſources of their immenſe wealth.

The accounts brought home by the ſailors and maſters of the merchant-ſhips employed in carrying on the trade to Brazil, circulated through the weſt of England; and encouraged numbers to bring up their children to the ſea, in hopes that ſome future rupture with Spain, or other favourable circumſtances, might make the ſea ſervice the channel to riches and honours. With this view, the ſtudy of navigation and coſmography was preferred to all others; and the event juſtified their expectations; for it is very remarkable, that the weſt of England proved a nurſery of able mariners, and gave birth to moſt of thoſe renowned naval officers, whoſe diſcoveries and victories extended the power, increaſed the commerce, and ſecured the independency of their country, in the glorious reign of Elizabeth.

Before her time, the naval force of England was inſufficient to protect adventurers in any important foreign enterpriſe. But ſoon after her acceſſion, our navy was put upon a reſpectable footing; not only by building ſhips in the royal yards, but by encouraging the merchants to build large trading veſſels, which could be occaſionally employed in the ſervice of the crown.

The commanders, in general, were men of equal bravery, ſkill and generoſity: as the ſailors ſhared the dangers, ſo they liberally divided with them, the ſpoils of war.

The manufactures newly eſtabliſhed in England by the foreign Proteſtants, who had fled to England for refuge, furniſhed valuable commodities to enable us to carry on a beneficial barter with the natives of the new

new world; and ſome of theſe being received by them, with a degree of veneration, as if they had been preſents from heaven, this was another circumſtance, which tended to abate the ferocity, and to eſtabliſh a friendly intercourſe, even with ſavage nations.

And finally, the bad policy of Spain contributed in the higheſt degree to the eſtabliſhment of the Engliſh in America; for the cruelties they had committed on the natives, had rendered their very name odious, in the ſouthern hemiſphere. The ſame bad policy likewiſe plunged them into a war with England; and if ever war could be conſidered as a national happineſs, it certainly muſt be allowed to have been ſuch for England at this period, when her merchants and adventurers found their private intereſt combined with that of the public, which induced them to fit out fleets to undertake expeditions againſt Spain at their own expence. And our brave ſeamen, at the ſame time that they enriched themſelves with the ſpoils of the Spaniſh ſettlements in America, defeated the deſigns of the enemies of their country, whoſe deep-concerted plans threatened no leſs than the aſſaſſination of Elizabeth, and the total annihilation of the Proteſtant religion and ſucceſſion in England.

Theſe hiſtorical anecdotes, we hope, will be conſidered as a proper introduction to the important maritime and commercial tranſactions in which Sir John Hawkins had ſo conſiderable a ſhare. This gentleman was the ſecond ſon of William Hawkins, Eſq. who gained great reputation as a ſeaman, and acquired a competent fortune by trading to the coaſt of Brazil, being the firſt Engliſhman who eſtabliſhed a friendly intercourſe with the natives, a people repreſented by the Portugueſe to have been ſo ſavage, that no other Europeans would venture to viſit them. Young Hawkins, early in youth, diſcovered a ſtrong inclination for the ſea, and applied himſelf with great aſſiduity to the ſtudy of navigation; and at a proper age, he made

ſeveral

ſeveral voyages to Spain, Portugal, and the Canaries, in the merchants ſervice. It is likewiſe ſuppoſed, that he went with his father to the coaſt of Brazil; but this is not quite certain; for he was born at Plymouth in the year 1520, and we have reaſon to think his father quitted the ſea, to retire and live upon his fortune, about the year 1536. In fact, we have no authentic memoirs of the firſt voyages of the ſon, upon his own account; but our hiſtorians take notice, that he was employed by queen Elizabeth, ſoon after her acceſſion; and moſt of the celebrated admirals, who ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the ſervice of their country, in the latter part of her reign, were brought up under him.

It was cuſtomary, however, in thoſe days, for naval officers of great reputation, when they were not actually engaged by the crown, in any national ſervice, to undertake commercial voyages by the aid, and in conjunction with the merchants; for which they obtained permiſſion from the queen; and generally ſome conditional privileges were annexed to their ſpecial licences upon theſe occaſions. The plan of a voyage of this kind was propoſed, by captain John Hawkins, to a ſet of gentlemen and merchants in the ſpring of the year 1562, and a ſmall ſquadron was ſoon after fitted out at their own expence, to eſtabliſh a trade to the coaſt of Guinea for ſlaves, to be bartered at the Spaniſh Weſt India iſlands for ſilver, ſugar, hides, &c. Their whole force conſiſted of only two ſhips of 100 tons, and one bark of 40 tons, with only one hundred men in all. With theſe he ſet ſail in October for the coaſt of Guinea, and having by force or purchaſe acquired 300 negroe ſlaves, he ſteered his courſe for Hiſpaniola, where he exchanged them for the commodities already ſpecified, on very advantageous terms, and returned ſafe from this ſucceſsful enterpriſe in September 1563.

The following year captain Hawkins undertook a ſecond voyage, but with greater force, his own ſhip

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the Jesus, being of the burthen of 700 tons; the Solomon of 120; the Swallow of 100, and the Tyger bark of 40. He sailed from Plymouth in October, and on his arrival at Guinea, he procured the number of negroes he wanted, and proceeded with them to the West Indies. He arrived at the island of Dominica on the 9th of March 1565, and this place being at that time very inconsiderable, he repaired to the island of Margaretta, where he was hospitably received by the Alcaide, and supplied with provisions. But the governor positively refused to permit him to traffic with the inhabitants: he likewise detained a pilot whom he had hired, and dispatched intelligence of his arrival to the governor of St Domingo, who immediately issued orders, and caused them to be notified to all the Spanish subjects along the coasts, prohibiting every species of traffic with the English fleet. Thus disappointed, our adventurer made for the continent, and took in water and fresh provisions at Santa Fe, then cruizing along the coast, he cast anchor on the third of April, before the town of Burborata, and sent a deputation on shore, to request the liberty of trading with the inhabitants: but after waiting fourteen days, the conditions annexed to the permission, were found to be such as could by no means be complied with; for the duties imposed, were calculated so as to make it a losing contract for the English. Captain Hawkins exasperated at this ill usage, sent a detachment on shore, consisting of one hundred men completely armed, to demand better terms, which they obtained, and he then traded with them on an equitable footing. The same refusal he met with at other places, and by the same spirited measure, he compelled the Spaniards to trade with him, and in the end made a prosperous voyage, and then returned home through the Gulph of Florida. Soon after his arrival in England, which was in September 1565, the queen in commemoration of his opening the trade to the coasts of Guinea, grant-

ed him a patent to bear for his creſt, a demi-moor, bound with a cord, and to do him the greater honour, Clarencieux king at arms was commanded to wait upon him, in proper form with the patent.

Captain Hawkins was next employed in the government ſervice, and in a much more juſtifiable buſineſs than the ſlave-trade; namely, in convoying the Engliſh troops ſent to the relief of the French Proteſtants at Rochelle, and after his return from France, while he was lying with his ſquadron at Cat-water, waiting for farther orders from the queen, the Spaniſh fleet, conſiſting of fifty ſail, paſſed by without paying the honours of the flag to the Engliſh ſquadron: upon which Hawkins ordered a ſhot to be fired at the admiral's flag, which producing no effect, a ſecond was fired, which went through it, and then the Spaniſh fleet came-to, and took in their colours. The admiral then ſent off one of his principal officers in a boat to deſire an explanation; but the captain would not ſuffer him to come on board, neither would he receive his meſſage in perſon: it was therefore reported to him by one of his own inferior officers, by whom he ſent to the Spaniard, to require him to inform his admiral, that as he had paſſed one of the queen's ports, and neglected the cuſtomary honours paid to her majeſty, eſpecially as he had ſo large a fleet under his command, it gave room to ſuſpect ſome hoſtile deſign, wherefore he inſiſted on his departure in twelve hours, otherwiſe he ſhould treat him as an enemy. This gallant behaviour brought the Spaniſh admiral himſelf to wait on captain Hawkins, in the ſame boat, and upon their meeting, the Spaniſh admiral deſired to know if the two crowns were at war unknown to him? Captain Hawkins replied in the negative, but that poſſibly this affront might occaſion one, for he was determined to ſend an expreſs, to inform the queen what had paſſed. The Spaniard, at firſt, pretended not to underſtand the nature of the offence he had committed, but being

being at laſt fully convinced of his error, he genteely acknowledged it, and captain Hawkins as politely agreed to let it reſt with them; after which they reciprocally entertained each other, on board their reſpective ſhips and on ſhore; and with the firſt fair wind, the Spaniſh fleet ſet ſail for the coaſt of Flanders.

In the month of October of the ſame year, 1567, captain Hawkins ſailed on a third trading voyage to the coaſt of Guinea and the Weſt Indies, in his old ſhip the Jeſus, accompanied by the Minion, and four other ſhips, one of which was commanded by captain, afterwards admiral Drake. On their arrival at Guinea, they took on board about 500 negroes, and then purſued their voyage to the Spaniſh ſettlements in America. *Rio de la Hacha* was the firſt place were he attempted to trade, but being refuſed, he landed his men and took poſſeſſion of the town, and then an accommodation took place, and he met with ſuch ſucceſs, that he diſpoſed of great part of his negroes: with the remainder he ſailed for Carthagena, and there completed his commercial tranſactions. But on his return home, he met with ſtormy weather on the coaſt of Florida, which obliged him to put into the harbour of *St John de Ulloa*, in the bay of Mexico, on the 16th of September, 1568. The Spaniſh inhabitants, imagining his ſquadron was part of the fleet of their own nation expected from Spain, readily came on board, and were greatly terrified when they diſcovered their miſtake. But captain Hawkins entertained them with great civility, and to diſpel their fears, aſſured them, that he only came there by ſtreſs of weather, and wanted nothing but proviſions, nor did he attempt any thing againſt twelve merchant-ſhips richly laden, then lying in the port. For his own ſecurity, however, he detained two perſons of rank, as hoſtages, till the return of an expreſs ſent to Mexico, with an account of his arrival. The next day, the Spaniſh fleet appeared, having on board the viceroy newly appointed, and on

his voyage to his government. In this delicate ſituation, captain Hawkins was at a loſs how to act: for as England was not at war with Spain, he was apprehenſive of his ſovereign's diſpleaſure, if he ſhould prevent their entrance into the harbour, eſpecially as the ſtorms continued, and they muſt have periſhed. At the ſame time he had ſtrong ſuſpicions, that ſome treachery would be practiſed againſt him, when the Spaniſh fleet was ſecure in their own port, and that he ſhould be overpowered by numbers. He, therefore, took the precaution to inſiſt on ſuch conditions from the viceroy, before he would admit his fleet into the harbour, as were beſt calculated to guard the Engliſh againſt any latent perfidy on the part of the inhabitants of the town, from whom every thing was to be dreaded, with the aſſiſtance of their fleet. With this view he required, that the Engliſh fleet ſhould be ſupplied with proviſions on their paying for them; that hoſtages for keeping the peace ſhould be given by both parties; and that the iſland, with the cannon on the fortifications, ſhould be put into the hands of his people during their ſtay. The viceroy at firſt rejected theſe propoſals with diſdain, but upon being told, that captain Hawkins conſidered himſelf as the repreſentative of the queen of England, and therefore of a rank equal to his, he vouchſafed to negociate the matter with him in perſon, and ſolemnly promiſed to fulfil the agreement in every particular.

The treaty thus concluded, the Spaniſh fleet entered the harbour on the 26th, and as it had been agreed, the canal of the port being narrow, that the fleets of the two nations ſhould be ranged on each ſide, this arrangement took up two days, during which the greateſt harmony ſeemed to prevail between the Engliſh and the Spaniſh officers. Yet a conſpiracy at this time was forming at land, to attack the Engliſh, no leſs than 1000 men being muſtered on ſhore; and it was agreed that the people of the town ſhould ſupport

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the operations of the fleet. Accordingly, on the morning of the 24th, the Engliſh obſerved unuſual manœuvres on board the Spaniſh ſhips; their ſmall arms were ſhifted from one ſhip to another, and their ordnance pointed at the Engliſh fleet. A greater number of men than uſual likewiſe appeared upon the decks; and ſeveral other circumſtances contributing to alarm captain Hawkins, he ſent to the viceroy, to know the meaning of all theſe extraordinary motions: when, in order to carry on the baſe deception, the viceroy, to all outward appearance, gave all poſſible ſatisfaction to the Engliſh commander, and aſſured him, on his parole of honour, that if the inhabitants of the place had any ſecret deſigns, and ſhould attempt any violence againſt the Engliſh fleet, he would protect and aſſiſt them. But captain Hawkins, from a variety of circumſtances, had reaſon to doubt the ſincerity of the viceroy, and therefore he ordered his people to ſtand upon their defence. Soon after, ſuſpecting that a conſiderable land force was concealed in a ſhip which lay next to the Minion, he ſent to the viceroy, to demand a categorical anſwer, who, unable any longer to conceal his treachery, detained the meſſenger, and ordered a trumpet to be ſounded, which was the ſignal for falling upon the Engliſh.

Captain Hawkins was at dinner when he heard the trumpet, and in the ſame inſtant, Don Auguſtine de Villa Neuva, a Spaniard, whom he had treated with great reſpect and civility, felt in his ſleeve for a dagger, which he had concealed, having engaged to aſſaſſinate Hawkins: but one John Chamberlayne, who waited at table, perceived his motion in time to ſtop his hand and arreſt him. He was directly ſecured in the ſteward's room, and Hawkins flew upon deck, where he perceived the Spaniſh troops boarding the Minion from the veſſel wherein they had been concealed, upon which he exclaimed with great ardour, "God and "Saint George fall upon theſe traitors, and reſcue the

"Minion: I truſt in God the day ſhall be ours." His crew thereupon boarded the Minion, drove out the Spaniards, and fired a ſhot into the vice-admiral, which, it is imagined, paſſed through the powder-room, for three-hundred Spaniards on board were blown up into the air. Another ſhot ſet fire to the Spaniſh admiral, which continued burning half an hour. But this dreadful havock was unhappily retaliated upon the Engliſh on ſhore, who were all cut off except three, who ſwam to the Engliſh ſhips. Hawkins, though overpowered, continued the engagement with undaunted reſolution, even after the ordnance of the fort had ſunk his ſmall ſhips, at the utmoſt peril of his life; for his ſhip was greatly diſabled, when, having drank ſucceſs to his men, encouraging them to ply their guns briſkly, a ſhot from a demi-culverin ſtruck the cup he had juſt put out of his hand, carried that, and a cooper's plane, which lay near the main-maſt, overboard, and went out through the oppoſite ſide of the ſhip. Upon which Hawkins only re-animated his men, by telling them "to fear nothing, for God who had "preſerved him from that ſhot, would alſo deliver them "all from thoſe traitors and villains the Spaniards." At length, the maſts and rigging of the Jeſus being ſo ſhattered by the artillery of the fort, that it was impoſſible to bring her off, it was reſolved to place her as a ſcreen to the Minion till night, and then it was propoſed to take out her proviſions, neceſſaries, &c. and abandon her. But ſoon after, two Spaniſh fire-ſhips bearing down upon the Minion, the crew conſulting their own ſafety, without waiting for orders from their officers, hove away from the Jeſus, with ſo much precipitation, that it was with great difficulty Hawkins was taken on board. As for his people, they were obliged to take to their boats, and row after the Minion, which had got under ſail. Some reached her, but others fell victims to the ſavage barbarity of the Spaniards.

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The Spaniſh fleet ſuffered greatly in the action. The admiral and vice-admiral were rendered unfit for ſervice, and four other ſhips were totally deſtroyed. They loſt likewiſe about 500 men; and this was all the reward they had, for their infamous conduct. Of the Engliſh ſquadron, which conſiſted of five ſail, none but the Minion and the Judith eſcaped; and the latter, a bark of 50 tons, ſeparated from the Minion in the night, ſoon after the engagement was over; and we have no farther account of her. As for the Minion ſhe was crowded with men, having on board all the wounded they could bring off, and great part of the crew of the Jeſus, and ſome of the men, who had eſcaped in boats from the ſhips that were ſunk. Captain Hawkins now took the command of the Minion, and it does not appear whether this was the ſhip before under Drake; all we know is, that he returned home in her. They remained out at ſea, in want of proviſions and water, for their numerous complement of men, till the 8th of October, when they entered a creek in the bay of Mexico, in ſearch of refreſhments. This was near the mouth of the river Tampico, and here, fortunately for thoſe who remained on board, upwards of an hundred of the men requeſted to be put on ſhore, preferring the uncertain fate to which they expoſed themſelves, to the apparent riſk of periſhing for want of neceſſaries for ſuch numbers, before the ſhip could reach any friendly port.

Theſe unhappy people, however, endured every ſpecies of human miſery. A few were killed, and others wounded by the Indians upon their march up the country; but when the affrighted ſavages found they were not Spaniards, they treated them kindly, and directed them to the port of Tampico. Here they divided, and the major part unfortunately marched weſtward, and fell into the hands of the governors of different Spaniſh ſettlements, by whom they were inhumanly treated, and ſold to ſlavery. Some were

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burnt, and others tortured by the Inquiſition; and of ſixty-five perſons, we have no certain account of the return of any to England, except Job Hortop, gunner of the Jeſus, who, after twelve years impriſonment by the Inquiſition, found means to obtain his liberty, and got ſafe to England in 1590, after having ſuffered incredible hardſhips for twenty-three years.

Captain Hawkins, with the reſt of the crew, conſiſting likewiſe of about 100 men, ſailed through the gulph of Florida, the latter end of October, and after running the hazard of being ſeized at a Spaniſh port, which they were obliged to enter for proviſions, they got ſafe to Vigo, where they met with ſome Engliſh ſhips. From them they received full ſupplies of every neceſſary for their voyage, and on the 25th of January, 1570, they arrived ſafe in England; which was all the conſolation they had after this unſucceſsful diſmal enterpriſe; for as to Hawkins, he ſuffered greatly in his fortune by the loſs of his merchandiſe, and the inferior officers and men ſaved nothing but their lives.

To indemnify our brave commander for the fatigues and hardſhips he had endured, the queen promoted him to an honourable office at home, admirably ſuited to his capacity; a circumſtance which is but ſeldom attended to, in the diſpoſal of the public employments. He was made treaſurer of the navy: in virtue of this poſt, he had the chief direction of the royal docks, and he took care to keep the navy upon a reſpectable footing, more ſhips being built and repaired after he came into this office, than had ever been known in England before. It was likewiſe part of his duty to take the command of any ſquadrons fitted out for the purpoſe of clearing the narrow ſeas of pirates; and upon theſe occaſions he exerted himſelf ſo effectually, that the merchants thanked him in a body, for the protection and ſecurity given to commercial navigation, in 1575.

From this time to the year 1588, we have nothing memorable tranſmitted to us concerning him, except an alarming accident which happened to him, as he was walking in the Strand. A lunatic miſtaking him for Sir Chriſtopher Hatton, the queen's vice-chamberlain, ſuddenly ſtabbed him in the back. The wound did not proye mortal, but was ſo dangerous, that there were little hopes of his recovery for ſome time. This deſperate wretch was committed to the Tower, where he killed his keeper with a billet brought to him for firing, and being tried and condemned for this murder, he was executed in the Strand, near the place where he had wounded captain Hawkins; who was providentially preſerved to ſhare the glory of that great day, when the Spaniſh Armada was defeated. He ſerved under the lord high admiral Howard in the rank of rear-admiral, and he chaced the flying Spaniards with ſuch intrepidity and ſucceſs, that the queen in perſon publicly applauded his conduct, before the whole court, and conferred on him the honour of knighthood.

The war continuing with Spain, a grand expedition was meditated ſoon after the deſtruction of the Armada, to annoy the coaſts of Spain, and at the ſame time, if poſſible, to defray the expences of the enterpriſe, and reward the valour of the ſubjects engaged in it, by intercepting the Plate-fleet. A fleet of ten ſhips of the line was fitted out for theſe purpoſes, and divided into two ſquadrons of five ſail, with inſtructions to act in concert, but each ſquadron had a ſeparate commander; and upon this occaſion Sir Martin Frobiſher was judged the propereſt perſon to be joined in commiſſion with Sir John Hawkins. Very great expectations were formed of the ſucceſs of this expedition from the known valour and abilities of the two admirals, for they were rivals in naval reputation.

Sir Martin Frobiſher was born in Yorkſhire, and was put apprentice by his parents, who were of low degree,

degree, to the maſter of a coaſting veſſel, and having diſcovered great talents for navigation, joined to a bold enterpriſing genius, and undaunted courage, he was diſtinguiſhed early in life as an able ſeaman. He afterwards obtained recommendations to Ambroſe Dudley, earl of Warwick, who, with other perſons of rank and fortune, patroniſed an enterpriſe Frobiſher had long meditated, which was to diſcover a north weſt paſſage to the Eaſt Indies. Being provided with three ſmall veſſels at the expence of his patrons, he ſailed from Deptford, in the ſummer of the year 1576, and in about five weeks he found himſelf in 61 degrees of north latitude, where he diſcovered high points of land covered with ſnow; but not being able to approach the ſhore on account of the quantity of ice, and the impoſſibility of caſting anchor from the extraordinary depth of the water, he entered his obſervations in his journal, and gave the title of *Queen Elizabeth's Foreland*, to the eaſtern promontory of the coaſt

In the month of Auguſt he ſailed into the Streights, lying a little to the northward of Cape Farewel and Weſt Greenland, in 63 degrees of latitude; theſe he named *Frobiſher's Streights*, and they ſtill continue to be ſo called. His endeavours, however, to open an intercourſe with the natives on the coaſts proved unſucceſsful; the Indians ſeizing his men and his boats; and, according to ſome accounts, either by ſtorms, or hoſtilities, he loſt two of his veſſels, which obliged him to make for England, where he arrived ſafe in October; and though the chief object of the voyage was not accompliſhed, yet the diſcovery of the ſituation of theſe places proved highly beneficial to future navigators.

Frobiſher made two voyages to theſe parts in 1577 and 1578, and with great perſeverance and bravery attempted to approach nearer to the North Pole; but being the firſt adventurer, as it frequently happens, his obſervations ſerved rather as inſtructions to his ſucceſſors,

ſors, than as ſplendid monuments of his own great reputation; and it is probable that his unpoliſhed manners might prevent the good fortune he had promiſed himſelf in theſe enterpriſes; for he was a very ſevere commander, rigid in his diſcipline, and more dreaded than beloved by his men. With this caſt of temper, his ſucceſs was more ſignal in engagements with an enemy, than in attempts to traffic, or to eſtabliſh a friendly communication with the natives of North America. Accordingly, he performed wonders againſt the Spaniſh Armada, was knighted on the recommendation of the lord admiral in 1588, and in 1590 he was ſent with Sir John Hawkins on the expedition, to which we now return. The king of Spain gaining early intelligence of this armament, and of its deſtination, at firſt propoſed to oppoſe it with a more formidable fleet; but his council wiſely judging that Elizabeth, who had a ſtrong navy at this time, would ſpeedily reinforce the admirals, if ſhe found it requiſite, that plan was laid aſide, and a more prudent meaſure adopted; which was, to keep his ſhips in their harbours, and to ſend expreſſes over land to India, to order the Plate-fleet to remain in port, inſtead of ſailing that year. Thus circumſtanced, the admirals were obliged to remain inactive for ſeven months, cruizing off the Azores, without taking a ſingle ſhip. At laſt, determined to attempt ſome ſignal action, they attacked the Iſland of Fayal; but the governor being well provided with every neceſſary to ſupport a long ſiege, they were obliged to retire with ſome loſs and little reputation; and ſoon after, they were ordered home, where they were but coolly received by the people, who are ſtruck only with brillant acts. But the intentions of the court being in a great meaſure anſwered, by obliging the Spaniſh fleets to remain in their harbours, and preventing the arrival of the Plate-fleet in Spain, which occaſioned bankruptcies amongſt her merchants, the court conſidered them in the light of

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faithful ſervants, and they were highly eſteemed by their ſovereign.

The laſt and the moſt arduous enterpriſe, in which Sir John Hawkins was engaged, proved fatal to himſelf. In the life of Sir Francis Drake, we have given an account of the armament which was fitted out in the year 1595, to attack the Spaniſh ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies; and we have marked the operations of the fleet under the joint command of Hawkins and Drake, till they made an unſucceſsful attack on the chief of the Canary Iſlands. Sir John Hawkins, being the oldeſt commander, was not a little chagrined at having his advice over-ruled; and his reſentment againſt Drake and Baſkerville was increaſed, when he found, that while they were employed in this fruitleſs attempt, the Spaniards had time to put their chief places in the Weſt-Indies in a proper ſtate of defence. With much chagrin, therefore, he ſailed for Dominica, where the ſeamen and the troops, by ſome miſmanagement, waſted more time in taking in proviſions and other refreſhment, and in preparing their pinnaces, which were deſigned for ſailing cloſer to the harbour of Porto Rico than the men of war could approach. In the interval, the Spaniards ſent five large frigates well manned, to bring off the galleon; theſe, on their way, fell in with the rear of the diviſion of the fleet under Sir John Hawkins, who had ſailed from Dominica for Porto Rico in the evening of the 30th of October. The Spaniards took the Francis a bark of 135 tons, and having tortured ſome of the crew into a confeſſion, that all the Engliſh force was bent againſt Porto Rico, the Spaniſh admiral crowded all his ſail, and made the beſt of his way, without attempting to engage Sir John Hawkins, though he had a ſuperior ſquadron, and by this prudent conduct he ſaved the place. As for Hawkins, he foreſaw the inevitable conſequences of the repeated delays of the Engliſh fleet, and of the capture of the Francis, which augmenting

augmenting his chagrin, threw him into a fever, and put a period to his life on the 21ſt of November, 1595, when they had juſt made the iſland of Porto Rico. The unfortunate iſſue of the deſperate attack on Porto Rico, and its ſimilar fatal effect on Sir Francis Drake, the reader will naturally recur to in the life of that admiral.

The great character Sir John Hawkins acquired, was tarniſhed by the mean paſſion of avarice; and it is much to be feared, that it had too great an influence on ſome parts of his public conduct. However, his great abilities in the naval department, both at land and at ſea, extenuated his defects: he was no leſs than forty-eight years commander at ſea, and twenty-two years treaſurer of the navy, for the regulation of which he eſtabliſhed many excellent orders; and he was both the author and the patron of ſeveral uſeful inventions and improvements in the art of navigation. Laſtly, in conjunction with his brother William, he contributed to the great increaſe of ſailors, by promoting commercial navigation; for they were owners of thirty ſail, ſays Dr Campbell, of goodly ſhips.

He likewiſe bred up his ſon Richard to the ſea, and had the happineſs of ſeeing him knighted, two years before he died, for his ſignal ſervices. Sir Richard Hawkins accompanied his father in moſt of his expeditions, and upon all occaſions proved that he inherited his father's valour. In the engagement with the Armada, he commanded the Swallow, a frigate, which was cloſely attacked, and ſuffered more than any ſhip in the Engliſh fleet. In 1590, under the command of his father and Sir Martin Frobiſher, he exerted himſelf in a ſignal manner on the coaſts of Spain; and in 1593, he fitted out two large ſhips at his own expence, having firſt procured a commiſſion from the queen, to annoy the Spaniards in South-America: he had likewiſe a farther deſign of ſailing round the globe, that he might ſhare the glory of Drake and Cavendiſh: with

this view, he paſſed the Streights of Magellan with only one ſhip, in the ſpring of the year 1594, and cruized along the coaſts of Patagonia, which have lately been the object of curioſity, and the ſubject of general converſation. In 48 degrees of ſouthern latitude, he diſcovered a fair and promiſing country, ſituated in a very temperate climate, and to particular places he gave different names; but the land collectively, he called HAWKINS'S MAIDEN LAND, aſſigning as a reaſon, that he had diſcovered it at his own expence, under the auſpices of a maiden queen. After taking ſome valuable prizes in the South-Seas, and once bravely diſengaging himſelf from an attempt made by Don Bertrand de Caſtro to take him, it would ſeem ſtrange that he did not return home, if it did not appear, that with his valour, he inherited his father's foible, an inordinate love of money, which detained him in thoſe parts, to make more valuable captures, till in the end, he himſelf was taken with all his treaſure by the Spaniſh admiral, after a deſperate engagement, in the courſe of which he received ſeveral dangerous wounds. He ſurrendered on a promiſe, that the whole crew ſhould have a free paſſage to England as ſoon as poſſible; but the Spaniards, with their uſual perfidy, ſent him to Seville, and afterwards to Madrid, retaining him a priſoner in Spain, till the peace between that country and England was negociating in 1600; and though the treaty was broken off, he then obtained his releaſe, and returned home; after which, he paſſed the remainder of his days in retirement. He died ſuddenly of an apoplectic fit, in an outer chamber, while he was attending on the privy-council; but upon what buſineſs, or in what year this event happened, we are left in the dark by the writers of his life. He left an account of his voyage, to the time of his being taken, part of which was put to preſs by himſelf, and the whole manuſcript was printed and publiſhed after his deceaſe, in one volume, folio, intituled, "The Obſervations

Obſervations of Sir Richard Hawkins, in his voyage to the South-Seas;" but it is imperfect, the author having deſigned to complete it, in a ſecond part.

It now remains, that we ſhould conclude the memoirs of this reſpectable *naval triumvirate*, by completing our account of Sir Martin Frobiſher.

In the year 1592, he commanded a ſquadron, fitted out at the expence of Sir Walter Raleigh and his friends, with inſtructions to watch the arrival of the Plate-fleet on the coaſt of Spain; and though his whole armament conſiſted of only three ſhips, he burnt one galleon, richly laden, and brought home another.

In 1594, the queen ſent him to the aſſiſtance of Henry IV. of France, againſt his rebellious ſubjects the Leaguers, and the Spaniards, who had gained poſſeſſion of part of Bretagne, and had fortified themſelves in a very ſtrong manner at Croyzon near Breſt. Admiral Frobiſher commanded four ſhips of the line, with which he blocked up the port; at the ſame time, Sir John Norris, with 3000 infantry, attacked the place by land, which however would not have been carried, if the admiral had not landed his ſailors to reinforce the general. The ſailors made a deſperate attack, and took it by ſtorm; but their brave admiral received a muſket-ball in his ſide, and by the miſmanagement of the ſurgeon, the wound proved mortal, in a few days after his arrival at Plymouth.

*** *Authorities.* Lediard's Naval Hiſtory. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals. Baker's Chronicle. Hume's Hiſtory of England.

THE LIFE OF

WILLIAM CECIL,

LORD BURLEIGH.

[A. D. 1520, to 1598.]

Including Memoirs of Sir NICHOLAS BACON, Sir NICHOLAS THROGMORTON, and THOMAS HOWARD, Duke of Norfolk.

WE are now to resume the thread of British history, which we shall find regularly connected with the principal incidents of the life of this great statesman, who had the chief guidance of the reins of government forty years.

William Cecil was the son of Richard Cecil, Esq; of Burleigh, in the county of Northampton, principal officer of the robes in the reign of Henry VIII. and in great favour with the king. His mother was the daughter and heiress of William Hickington, Esq; of Bourn, in the county of Lincoln, at which place he was born in the year 1520.

The first rudiments of his education he received at the grammar-schools of Grantham and Stamford, and discovering an ardent thirst for knowledge, his father determined to qualify him for the law. With this view, he sent him to St John's college, Cambridge, where his close application to his studies, assisted by an uncommon genius, soon acquired him considerable reputation, but at the expence of his health, for he contracted a humour in his legs, from his long sittings, which laid the foundation of that tormenting disease, the gout, which afterwards was a disagreeable companion to him for life.

In his nineteenth year, he had completed his university education, and was therefore removed by his father

ther to Gray's-inn, London, then the moſt eminent of the inns of court. Here his proficiency in the law was as rapid, as his general learning at the univerſity. And while he was thus laudably employed, an accident happened, which introduced him to the notice of his ſovereign, and diverted his attention, in ſome meaſure, from the law, to the attainment of courtly accompliſhments.

In the latter end of the reign of Henry VIII. Mr Cecil went to court, on a viſit to his father, and in the preſence-chamber he met two prieſts, chaplains to O'Neale, a famous Iriſh chief, who was negociating the affairs of his country with the king. With theſe prieſts, who were bigotted Papiſts, young Cecil fell into converſation upon theological topics. A warm diſpute enſued, which was carried on in Latin, and managed with ſo much wit and ſound argument on the part of Cecil, an advocate for the reformed religion, that the chaplains, ſeeing themſelves foiled by a youth, broke from him in rage. Upon this, it was reported to the king, that young Cecil had confuted both O'Neale's chaplains; and his majeſty thereupon ordered him into his preſence, and was ſo delighted with the pertinent anſwers he gave to ſeveral intricate queſtions, that he directed his father to find out a place for him at court; but as it happened there was no vacancy. The old gentleman, therefore, aſked for the reverſion of the Cuſtos Brevium Office in the Common Pleas; which the king willingly granted.

About this time, Mr Cecil married Mary Cheke, ſiſter to Sir John Cheke, by whom he had his firſt ſon, Thomas. This lady died in leſs than two years after her marriage. Five years after, he married Mildred Cooke, a daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, one of the tutors to Edward VI. a lady of great merit and uncommon learning.

Upon the acceſſion of Edward VI. he was promoted at court; for Sir John Cheke recommended him to the

lord protector, the king's uncle, who made him maſter of the requeſts, and ſoon after he came to the poſſeſſion of his office of Cuſtos Brevium. Theſe acquiſitions, and the fortune of his ſecond wife, enabled him to make a diſtinguiſhed figure amongſt the courtiers.

Mr Cecil attended the protector Somerſet in his expedition to Scotland, and was at the battle of Muſſelburgh, where he had a narrow eſcape, his life being ſaved by the generous interpoſition of one of his friends, who puſhed him out of the level of a cannon, and had his arm inſtantly ſhattered to pieces by the ball, which would otherwiſe have deſtroyed Cecil.

In 1548, he grew into great favour with the young king, which Somerſet obſerving, he advanced him to the office of ſecretary of ſtate. But the following year, a party being formed againſt the protector, he was involved in the misfortunes of his patron, and was committed to the Tower, where he remained a priſoner three months. But to recompenſe him for this temporary diſgrace, the king conferred on him the honour of knighthood, ſoon after his releaſe; and in October, 1551, he was ſworn of the privy-council. The following year, party diſputes ran very high at court; and though Sir William Cecil acted with great caution, endeavouring, on the one hand, to avoid involving himſelf in the fate of his falling patron, and on the other, not to court the duke of Northumberland, the riſing favourite, in an unbecoming, ſervile manner, yet his enemies accuſed him of promoting the ruin of Somerſet. But the aſperſion is grounded ſolely on his cool reply to the duke, when he told him, he was apprehenſive of ſome evil deſign againſt him. "If you are not in fault, ſaid Cecil, you may truſt to your innocence; if you are, I have nothing to ſay, but to lament you."

In 1553, Sir William Cecil undertook the liquidation of the crown debts, and having propoſed ways and

and means which were agreed to by the council, he was, for this eminent ſervice, made chancellor of the noble order of the garter; and about this time, the people began to form great expectations of him, on account of his attention to the commercial affairs of the nation; for the promotion of which, he patronized every rational ſcheme propoſed to him.

At the council-board, he ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the reſolution for changing the ſucceſſion to the crown in favour of Lady Jane Grey, and refuſed to ſign the inſtrument for that purpoſe, as a privy-counſellor, but he witneſſed it as the act and deed of the king. But on his majeſty's demiſe, he refuſed to draw up the proclamation declaring Lady Jane's title; neither would he write a letter, on the duke of Northumberland's ſolicitation, to acknowledge her right, and to treat Mary as illegitimate. This diſcretion paved the way to his future advancement. For queen Mary, ſoon after her acceſſion, granted Sir William Cecil a general pardon; and, on chuſing her counſellors, ſhe ſaid, if he would change his religion, he ſhould be her ſecretary and counſellor: to which he nobly anſwered; "he was taught and bound to ſerve God firſt, and next the queen: for if her ſervice ſhould put him out of God's ſervice, he hoped her majeſty would give him leave to chuſe an everlaſting, rather than a momentary ſervice: that ſhe had been his ſo gracious lady as he would ever ſerve and pray for her in his heart; and with his body and goods be as ready to ſerve in her defence as any of her loyal ſubjects; but hoped ſhe would pleaſe to grant him leave to uſe his conſcience to himſelf, and ſerve her at large as a private man, rather than to be her greateſt counſellor." Yet the queen ſtill treated him very graciouſly, and forebore either to hear his enemies, who were many, or to diſgrace him; for, in the ſecond year of her reign, he was ſent to Bruſſels, with the lord Paget, to bring over cardinal Pole.

During

During the remainder of this reign, Sir William Cecil continued in a private ſtation, only attending his duty in parliament, as knight of the ſhire for the county of Lincoln; and though, in parliament, he frequently oppoſed the meaſures of adminiſtration, yet he was held in ſuch reſpect by the queen's miniſters, and particularly by cardinal Pole, that he was never moleſted either for his religious or political ſentiments, though he openly avowed both with manly freedom.

When queen Elizabeth ſucceeded to the throne, Sir William Cecil, for his truth and tried ſervice to her, was worthily called and honourably advanced by her majeſty to be her ſecretary of ſtate and a privy-counſellor; and was the firſt ſworn of any counſellor ſhe had, at Hatfield, where ſhe reſided at her firſt coming to the crown.

In the firſt parliament holden in the beginning of the queen's reign, great difficulties aroſe in reforming and altering religion; and for the better ſatisfaction of the parliament, by Sir William's advice, a conference was held in Weſtminſter church, by the old and new biſhops, and other learned men, upon ſome queſtions and points deviſed principally by himſelf touching the exerciſe of religion; which produced that form of worſhip, which has ever ſince been the eſtabliſhment of the church of England.

His next care was, to remedy the abuſes in the coinage; for this purpoſe, he called in all the baſe money, and ordered a new coinage, and put the gold and ſilver coin in a better ſtate than it had ever been before.

In the beginning of the year 1560, he was made maſter of the wards, upon the death of Sir Thomas Parry; and the ſame year he was ſent to Scotland in conjunction with Dr Wotton, to negociate a treaty of peace with the biſhop of Valence and the count de Randan, between England, Scotland, and France. They executed their commiſſion ſucceſsfully, but the French count abſolutely refuſed to ratify it, though the

the above-named ambaſſadors, veſted with full powers, had ſigned it.

The influence of Sir William Cecil increaſed every day at the council-board; and aſſured of the queen's ſupport, who beſides the high eſteem in which ſhe held his political abilities, was under conſiderable obligations to him, for giving her intelligence of all the motions of her enemies in the late reign; he now began to oppoſe the earl of Leiceſter, and that nobleman, jealous of his riſing reputation, as earneſtly endeavoured to ruin Cecil. This conteſt between two ſuch conſiderable men, produced a powerful diviſion at court, but as yet Leiceſter's party prevailed; and theſe being in league with the popiſh zealots, ſome of whom Elizabeth had allowed to retain their ſeats in council, they accuſed him to the queen of having written or patronized a book, found upon his table, containing ſcandalous reflections on the whole body of the nobility; and when this, and ſome other dark intrigues failed, they baſely plotted againſt his life, hiring aſſaſſins to take him off, from whom he narrowly eſcaped, at one time, by going down the back ſtairs, on a hint that a villain waited for him at the foot of the great ſtairs of the palace; at another, by the failure of the cruel reſolution of the aſſaſſin, who being alone with him in his chamber, with a poignard in his hand, had not the power to perpetrate the horrid crime.

Notwithſtanding his great diſcernment, and his wary conduct, he would moſt probably have fallen a victim to the inveterate malice of the Popiſh party, and the envy of Leiceſter, if he had not been firmly ſupported by Francis Ruſſel, Earl of Bedford, and Sir Nicholas Bacon: of the latter, whoſe cool judgment, whoſe knowledge of the law, and whoſe high ſtation, all combined to protect Cecil, we ſhall here introduce conciſe memoirs.

Sir Nicholas Bacon firſt diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the reign of Henry VIII. by preſenting a plan to that prince

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of a ſeminary for the education of youth, of rank and family, in order to qualify them for the public ſervice. The outlines of the plan were, that they ſhould ſtudy in a college, the elements of natural and political law, and the inſtitution of government: then they were to be divided into claſſes; and ſome, being diſtinguiſhed by ſuperior talents and addreſs, were to be ſent abroad under our ambaſſadors, while others were to write the hiſtory of our foreign negociations, and treaties, and of domeſtic national events, at home. But, though this noble deſign was not carried into execution, it remains a perpetual memorial of the extenſive views of its author, for the honour and happineſs of his country. Mr Bacon's higheſt promotion in the law, (for which he had been educated) in the reign of Henry VIII. was the poſt of attorney to the court of wards, which he held under his ſucceſſor. In the reign of Mary, to avoid being involved in the troubles of the times, he reſided abroad, and had the honour to correſpond privately with the princeſs Elizabeth, who on her acceſſion, nominated him to be one of the eight privy-counſellors, in the Proteſtant intereſt, to be added to the old council, whom for political reaſons ſhe did not chooſe to remove ſuddenly. To this honour, her majeſty added that of knight-hood; and ſoon after, Heath, archbiſhop of York, and lord chancellor of England, having refuſed to comply with the queen's orders, reſpecting the reformation of religion, the ſeals were taken from him, and given to Sir Nicholas Bacon, with the title only of lord keeper, but with the full powers of chancellor.

As he came into office by the Proteſtant intereſt, ſo he firmly ſupported all his friends, embarked in the ſame cauſe; and in this view, he favoured the ſucceſſion of the houſe of Suffolk, in oppoſition to the claim of Mary queen of Scots; and as this ſucceſſion, in caſe of Elizabeth's death without iſſue, was the principal object of the ſecret cabals at court, he rendered himſelf

ſelf extremely obnoxious to the earl of Leiceſter. But, regardleſs of menaces or intrigues, he boldly adhered to his friends, and he and Sir William Cecil may be truly ſaid to have been the reciprocal deliverers of each other. Sir Nicholas Bacon performed the firſt good office to Cecil, as we have already ſeen; and when Leiceſter had prevailed ſo far with the queen, that ſhe forbade Bacon the court, and ordered him to confine himſelf ſolely to the buſineſs of his tribunal, Cecil prevented the farther progreſs of her majeſty's diſpleaſure, and reſtored him to her favour, on condition that he ſhould not give his opinion any more about the ſucceſſion.

Sir Nicholas Bacon enjoyed his office with an unſullied character, and the higheſt reputation, for the wiſdom and equity of his decrees, upwards of twenty years, when he grew extremely corpulent, and was ſuddenly taken off by the effects of a violent cold, to the great grief of the queen and the whole nation, in the year 1579, and in the 69th year of his age.

Sallies of wit and repartee were the fire of converſation in his time; we muſt not therefore omit two, which have been preſerved in all the memoirs of this great man. The one by the queen, reſpecting his corpulency, her majeſty ſaid, "the ſoul of Sir Nicholas Bacon lodged well." At another time, the queen honouring him with a viſit at his houſe at St Alban's, her majeſty obſerved, that the houſe was too little for him. "No, madam," anſwered Sir Nicholas, "but your majeſty has made me too great for my houſe."

Having given this ſhort account of Cecil's beſt friend, it may not be improper to ſketch the character of the perſon employed by Leiceſter, as the chief agent of his practices againſt him.

This was Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, a gentleman deſcended from an ancient family in Warwick-ſhire, and educated in foreign parts. From early youth he manifeſted an inclination for political ſtudies, and before

fore he was thirty years of age he was eſteemed an accompliſhed courtier. His knowledge of the true intereſts of his country, led him to oppoſe the marriage of queen Mary with Philip of Spain, in parliament; and his attachment at that time to the Proteſtant cauſe, engaged him in ſecret meaſures for the ſupport of Wyat's rebellion, which being diſcovered, he was indicted for high treaſon; but he pleaded his own cauſe ſo ably, that neither the ſtrength of the evidence, nor the influence of the miniſtry, could prevail againſt him, ſo that the jury acquitted him; for which offence, they were proſecuted by the attorney-general in the ſtar-chamber.

Queen Elizabeth, who was a ready diſcerner of merit, called him to court in the firſt year of her reign, and employed his talents in the department wherein ſhe knew he chiefly excelled. She ſent him on various ſpecial embaſſies to France and Scotland, his knowledge of the political ſtate of Europe, and of men and manners, having acquired him the reputation of being one of the ableſt negociators of his time. But the ſame talents under the influence of ambition, carried him deep into court intrigues at home, and made him ſacrifice his honour to ſupport his intereſt with the reigning favourite. It is no wonder, therefore, that he became a principal in Leiceſter's faction, and involved himſelf in troubles on his account; particularly in the year 1569, when Leiceſter eſpouſed the propoſal made to him by the earl of Murray, regent of Scotland, of marrying the queen of Scots to the duke of Norfolk. Throgmorton, upon Leiceſter's confeſſion of the whole ſcheme to Elizabeth, was taken into cuſtody; but finding, by this inſtance of perfidy, that he had miſtaken Leiceſter's true character, he made ſome conceſſions to Cecil, and went over to his intereſt; and it is imagined, he betrayed ſome important ſecrets, which rendered him ſo obnoxious to Leiceſter, that he only kept upon good terms with him to outward appearance,

pearance, the better to accompliſh his deſign of taking him off, in the manner related, in the life of Leiceſter.

About the time of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton's death, which happened in 1571, the queen began to be jealous of Leiceſter's high ſpirit and towering ambition; and probably, being conſcious of her unjuſtifiable partiality in his favour, ſhe prudently advanced Cecil in honours and confidence, as a check upon her own paſſions, and the deep deſigns of her favourite.

Be this as it may, certain it is, that ſhe never conferred particular marks of diſtinction on any of her ſubjects, but upon the moſt urgent occaſions, and from political motives; and ſhe now raiſed Sir William Cecil to the dignity of a peer, by the ſtyle and title of Baron Lord Burleigh; and his enemies obſerving the high degree of eſtimation in which he was held by the queen, contended who ſhould be firſt reconciled to him. Lord Burleigh farther recommended himſelf to her majeſty, by his aſſiduity in watching all the motions of Mary queen of Scots, whoſe friends were for the moſt part ſecret enemies of Elizabeth, and the abettors of all the Popiſh plots to dethrone, or to aſſaſſinate her.

The unfortunate queen of Scots, from the time that ſhe was detained priſoner in England, thought every meaſure juſtifiable, which had a tendency to reſtore her to the throne of Scotland; to ſtrengthen her claim to the ſucceſſion of that of England; to gratify her perſonal reſentment againſt Elizabeth; or to promote the re-eſtabliſhment of the Romiſh religion in both kingdoms.

To one or other of theſe objects, ſhe continually ſacrificed her reputation; and ſhe was ſo eager in the purſuit of them, that ſhe placed her confidence, frequently, in the very perſons who were placed about her, to betray her. Conſpiracy upon conſpiracy was diſcovered by lord Burleigh's agents; and at length,

the design of marrying the duke of Norfolk completed her ruin.

This nobleman was the eldest son of Henry earl of Surrey, whose memoirs the reader will find in the first volume of this work. Queen Mary restored him in blood, and he succeeded to the title of the Duke of Norfolk on the death of his grandfather. When Elizabeth came to the throne, she made him a knight of the Garter, and bestowed on him many other marks of her royal favour; but his ambitious design of succeeding to the throne of England, being avowed by Leicester, he was taken into custody, and from that moment, Elizabeth regarded him with a jealous eye; yet, upon his going over to Cecil's party, and promising to drop all intercourse with the queen of Scots, he was released.

But no tie of honour or gratitude could keep him within bounds of his duty, for he renewed his correspondence with Mary, entered into a contract of marriage, exchanged vows with her, transmitted money to her friends in Scotland to support her cause there, and took such unguarded measures at home, to release the royal captive, that the spies employed by Burleigh, soon procured sufficient grounds to accuse him to the privy-council of high treason; upon which he was committed to the Tower, the second time, and was brought to his trial in January 1572, the earl of Shrewsbury being appointed high steward upon the occasion; and upon the fullest evidence, he was found guilty. But so greatly was he beloved by his brother peers, that they all lamented the impossibility of saving him, the lord high steward bursting into tears when he pronounced the fatal sentence; and it is certain, that the peers who condemned him solicited his pardon, which occasioned a suspension of his execution for five months. But unfortunately, in the interval, Mary and her friends were more active than ever, in their attempts to take off queen Elizabeth. The parliament, therefore, addressed

dreſſed her majeſty on the expediency of executing the ſentence againſt the duke of Norfolk, and the neceſſity of bringing on the trial of Mary. In compliance with the addreſſes of both houſes, Norfolk ſuffered on the ſecond of June; and died greatly regretted by the people, being a nobleman of great merit, who had cultivated popularity, by his affability and liberality, and whoſe crime was rather conſidered as the effect of his high rank, being the firſt peer of the realm, and perhaps led to believe, as there were no princes of the blood, that his aſpiring to the crown was not ſo criminal, as to be conſtrued into high treaſon, for his enemies acquit him of being privy to any deſigns on the queen's life. Theſe baſe plots Mary artfully concealed from him, while ſhe held forth the lure of the one crown in poſſeſſion, and another in reverſion.

The execution of the duke of Norfolk effectually put a ſtop to the intrigues of all ambitious adventurers, who had entertained any hopes of marrying the unfortunate queen of Scots; and, therefore, this obſtacle being removed, ſome conciliatory meaſures were tried; Elizabeth even treated with her, for her enlargement; and diſpatched Lord Burleigh, and Sir Thomas Mildmay, chancellor of the Exchequer, a privy-counſellor, remarkable for his great moderation, his popularity, and his wiſdom, to negociate the conditions of a reconciliation. Mary was, at this time, confined at Chatſworth, in Derbyſhire (now the ſeat of the duke of Devonſhire), but all the arguments and intreaties of theſe great men, were loſt upon this devoted woman, who with a firmneſs which would have done honour to a better cauſe, adhered to the party ſhe had eſpouſed, and reſolved to merit the crown of martyrdom from the Roman pontiff; for, upon no conſideration, could ſhe be prevailed upon to break off her connections and correſpondence with the Engliſh, the Iriſh, and the Scotch Papiſts, who were declared enemies to Elizabeth, and were continually forming plans to de-

ſtroy the happy conſtitution in church and ſtate, now firmly eſtabliſhed, and glorioufly maintained by the wiſdom of her councils, and the valour of her fleets and armies.

Yet Elizabeth, though ſhe thought it highly expedient for her own ſecurity, to detain her in cuſtody, ſhewed no inclination to proceed to violent meaſures againſt her, in the courſe of fifteen years, from the time of Norfolk's execution, when the parliament addreſſed her majeſty to proceed capitally againſt her.

In fact, ſhe relied ſo entirely on the vigilance, the policy, and the general influence of lord Burleigh, whom, upon the death of the marquis of Wincheſter, in 1572, ſhe raiſed to the office of lord high treaſurer, that ſhe gave herſelf little or no concern about the queen of Scots, till ſuch daring attempts were made againſt her royal perſon, that ſhe began to think ſhe ſhould fall a victim to her own, and Burleigh's moderation; and, therefore, upon the conviction of Babington, on whoſe trial it appeared that he was countenanced by Mary, and her party, ſhe was more cloſely confined, and at length removed to Fotheringay-caſtle, in Northamptonſhire, in order to take her trial, a commiſſion being iſſued out for that purpoſe, by the advice of the privy-council, in the month of October 1586.

It is a difficult matter to determine whether Mary was guilty or not, as an accomplice, in any direct attempt, againſt the life of Elizabeth; and charity ſhould incline us to believe her own dying words upon this tender point; for though the commiſſioners, before whom ſhe was tried, unanimouſly found her guilty of having been privy to Babington's conſpiracy, yet the whole charge reſted chiefly on the evidences of Nau and Curle, her two ſecretaries, who had deſerted her in her misfortunes, and had been countenanced by the Engliſh miniſtry to betray her.

Indeed, it would have ſhewn more temper and ſounder policy to have proceeded againſt her, on the heavy

heavy accuſations brought againſt her by her own ſubjects, particularly her being acceſſary to the murder of lord Darnley, her ſecond huſband. However, from the high rank, conſummate knowledge of the laws, and the great number of the commiſſioners, being no leſs than forty-two of the chief perſons in the kingdom, including five of the judges, the majority of our hiſtorians decide, that ſhe had an impartial trial, and was clearly convicted of "conſpiring the deſtruction of the queen, the realm of England and the Proteſtant religion." Thuanus, the celebrated French hiſtorian, likewiſe obſerves, that "though there were ſeveral Popiſh lords in the commiſſion, even theſe found her guilty of the impeachment."

The diſcovery of the correſpondence between Mary and Babington, was effected by the policy of Sir Francis Walſingham; but the bringing the royal criminal to condign puniſhment, required a degree of firmneſs and reſolution ſuited to the criſis; and nothing but a conſciouſneſs of the rectitude of the meaſure, of the aſcendency he had gained over the queen, and of the popularity he had acquired by his public virtues and his private beneficent character, could have ſupported Cecil, under that load of cenſure which fell upon him from all quarters, as the chief cauſe of Mary's execution.

But, being now fully convinced, that the ſafety of his ſovereign and of his country, depended on cutting off the hopes of the Popiſh faction, by making a ſacrifice of their chief, the only branch of the royal blood devoted to their cauſe, the ſentence pronounced againſt Mary was executed, near four months after her trial. She ſuffered in the great hall of Fotheringay-caſtle, on the 8th of February 1587, in the 46th year of her age. She met death with noble fortitude, and with pious reſignation; and it may be truly ſaid, that the laſt moments of her life did her more honour than all her preceding years.

Queen Elizabeth, apprehenſive that this execution would excite great clamours againſt her in all the Popiſh courts of Europe, artfully, but ungenerouſly, endeavoured to throw the blame of it upon Daviſon, one of the ſecretaries of ſtate, to whoſe department it belonged to get the warrants ſigned, after the condemnation of criminals; who, accordingly, preſented the warrant for the execution of Mary to the queen, ſoon after ſentence was paſſed, and her majeſty ſigned it, without heſitation; but ſhe afterwards declared, that ſhe had charged him not to part with it, nor even to let any perſon know ſhe had ſigned it. Daviſon, however, from hints dropped by the queen at ſundry times, which ſhewed her ſecret deſire to have her taken off, thought it his duty to inform the privy-council, that the warrant lay in his office ſigned; and ſome of the lords, knowing that the queen had reproached the council in private, for their dilatorineſs in this affair, made a motion at the board, that orders ſhould be given to Daviſon to forward the warrant to Fotheringay-caſtle, without the queen's knowledge, which was agreed to, and the execution followed; for which Elizabeth thought proper to proſecute Daviſon, as her own immediate ſervant, in the ſtar-chamber, where he was fined 10,000*l.* and ſentenced to impriſonment during the queen's pleaſure, for having diſobeyed her majeſty's ſecret orders.

As for lord Burleigh, being convinced in his own mind, that Daviſon had acted the very part the queen wiſhed, though ſhe denied it to the world, he remonſtrated with great freedom, againſt the diſgrace of Daviſon, in a letter to the queen, ſtill extant.

One of the chief objects of the mighty preparations made in Spain in the courſe of this year, for invading England, was to releaſe Mary, and to replace her on the throne of Scotland; but by the aſſiduity and great abilities of Lord Burleigh, the whole expedition failed for

for this year, as we have related in the life of Sir Francis Drake.

The following year, however, the Spaniards reſolved upon ample vengeance; and the thunder of the Vatican was fulminated in aid of the Spaniſh arms. Excommunications, anathemas, denunciations of the wrath of heaven, and every other Popiſh engine of terror, was made uſe of, to ſhake the allegiance of the Engliſh, and terrify them into defection from their renowned ſovereign. But lord Burleigh had taken advantage of ten years of peace, to put the nation in ſuch a poſture of defence, as to be able to reſiſt the attempts of the moſt formidable enemy. The navy had been conſiderably improved and augmented, and the ſeamen kept in practice, by the frequent naval expeditions, ſent out in queſt of diſcoveries, under the great admirals, whoſe lives we have already given. The army likewiſe was well diſciplined, and had gained experience in ſeveral campaigns in Holland and in Ireland. And ſo exact was his intelligence, in foreign parts, that, to uſe the words of Lloyd, "he could write to a friend in Ireland, what the king of Spain could do for two years together, and what he could not do."

The defeat of the Spaniſh Armada having delivered the nation from all farther apprehenſions of a revolution in religion, and the queen from the perſonal dangers to which ſhe had been continually expoſed, the plots for aſſaſſinating her majeſty having for their ultimate object the ſubjection of the realm to the ſee of Rome, univerſal joy and [illegible]nſport prevailed among all orders and ranks of people.

But the inexpreſſible ſatisfaction which Burleigh muſt have felt, on this final happy iſſue of all his political manœuvres at home and abroad, was chequered with an adverſe ſtroke of fortune, in his family, which caſt a gloom of melancholy over his remaining days. In the beginning of the year 1589, he loſt his ſecond wife,

wife, a lady diſtinguiſhed by her rare talents, being no leſs celebrated for her piety and learning, than for thoſe domeſtic virtues which rendered her the ornament and example of her ſex. This affliction was the more ſeverely felt from their long and happy union, lady Burleigh having been the faithful companion of her huſband upwards of forty-three years. She was the daughter of Sir Anthony Cooke, and was well ſkilled in the learned languages; and when her lord's proſperity placed her in a ſituation to act agreeably to her diſpoſition, ſhe was a conſtant patroneſs of learned men; and, among other inſtances of her benevolence, ſhe founded two perpetual fellowſhips in St John's-College, Cambridge.

It was now, that almoſt exhauſted with inceſſant application to public buſineſs, and rendered infirm, by that moſt painful diſtemper the gout, this great ſtateſman earneſtly ſolicited leave to reſign all his employments; but the queen, who knew the value of ſuch an able ſenator, and ſteady counſellor, whoſe wiſdom increaſed with his grey hairs, would by no means conſent to it. But to conſole him for his great loſs ſhe paid him frequent viſits, and took every opportunity to do him honour in the eyes of the people, than which nothing could be better calculated to ſoothe and flatter declining age, and to excite it to freſh exertions of zeal in the public ſervice. Accordingly we find the good old man very active, upon ſundry occaſions, during the laſt ten years of his uſeful life. In 1591, the queen founded the Univerſity of Dublin, by the advice of lord Burleigh, by whom the plan of education was drawn up; and in 1593, he had the management or direction of every branch of adminiſtration, filling the dangerous poſt of prime miniſter, and acquitting himſelf of all its painful and extenſive duties, with as much ability, accuracy, and diſpatch, as if he had been in the prime of life.

"To

"To him (ſays one of his earlieſt biographers) all ranks of people addreſſed themſelves, to the very laſt. The biſhops and clergy for encouragement, protection, and preferment: the Puritans, (who were perſecuted againſt his opinion in council) for favourable treatment and relief from the oppreſſions of the prelates, and of the eccleſiaſtical courts: fugitives in foreign countries for pardon, which he granted, in conſideration of the intelligence they procured him of the deſigns of the popes, and of the king of Spain, againſt his country. The lieutenants of counties for inſtructions and advice; the admirals for fleets and ſupplies; in a word, the intereſts of the ſtate abroad, and its domeſtic tranquillity at home, were provided for, and preſerved to the lateſt hour of his life.

"At length, his diſſolution approached by ſlow and eaſy gradations; and in fact, his diſeaſe, properly ſpeaking, was nothing more than the decay of old age, haſtened by inceſſant labour, and fatigue of mind and body.

"His death was not ſudden, nor his pain in ſickneſs great; for he continued languiſhing two or three months, yet went abroad to take the air in his coach all that time; retiring from the court, ſometimes to his houſe at Theobald's, and ſometimes at London. His greateſt apparent infirmity was the weakneſs of his ſtomach. It was alſo thought his mind was troubled, that he could not effect a peace for his country, which he earneſtly deſired, ſeeking to leave it as he had long kept it.

"About ten or twelve days before he died, he grew weak, and ſo was driven to keep his bed, complaining only of a pain in his breaſt: which was thought to be the humour of the gout, wherewith he was ſo long poſſeſſed, falling to that place, without any ague, fever, or ſign of diſtemper, and that pain not great nor continual, but by fits; and ſo continued till within

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one night before his death. He expired on the 4th of Auguſt, 1598.

"Now might one ſee all the world mourning; the queen, for an old and true ſervant; the council, for a wiſe and grave counſellor; the court, for their honourable benefactor; his country, and commonwealth, trembling as it were at one blow, to have their head ſtricken off; the people, widows, and wards, lamenting to loſe their protector; religion, her patron; juſtice, her true miniſter; and peace, her upholder. His children bewailing the loſs of ſuch a father, his friends of ſuch a friend, and his ſervants of ſuch a maſter; all men rather bewailing his loſs, than hoping ever to find ſuch another. Yea, his very enemies, who in his lifetime could not abide him, did now both ſorrow for his death, and wiſh him alive again.

"He was the oldeſt, the graveſt, and greateſt ſtateſman of Chriſtendom; for there was, before his death, never a counſellor left alive in Europe, that were counſellors when he was firſt made."

As to his perſon, it is thus deſcribed by his contemporaries. "He was rather well proportioned than tall, being of the middle ſize, very ſtraight and upright of body and legs, and, until age and his infirmity of the gout ſurpriſed him, very active and nimble of body."

We ſhall ſubjoin Lord Burleigh's general character, as drawn by that able hiſtorian, the learned Camden, who ſurvived him many years, but who flouriſhed with him in the reign of Elizabeth.

"Having lived long enough to nature, and long enough to his own glory, but not long enough to his country, he reſigned his ſoul to God with ſo much peace and tranquillity, that the greateſt enemy he had, freely declared that he envied him nothing, but that his ſun went down with ſo much luſtre; whereas, generally, public miniſters are not bleſſed with ſuch calm and fortunate periods.

"Certainly

"Certainly he was a moſt excellent man; for he was ſo liberally furniſhed by nature, (to ſay nothing of his preſence and aſpect, which had a commanding ſweetneſs in them) and ſo poliſhed and adorned with learning and education, that every way, for honeſty, gravity, temperance, induſtry, and juſtice, he was a moſt accompliſhed perſon."

"He had alſo an eaſy and flowing eloquence, which conſiſted not in a pomp and oſtentation of words, but in a maſculine plainneſs and ſignificancy of ſenſe. He was maſter of a prudence formed upon experience, and regulated by temper and moderation. His loyalty was true, and would endure the touch, and was only exceeded by his piety, which indeed was eminently great. To ſum up all in a word, the queen was happy in ſo great a counſellor, and the ſtate of England for ever indebted to him for his ſage and prudent counſel.

"I ſhall forbear (ſays Camden) too laviſh a commendation of him; but this I may venture to affirm with truth, that he was one of thoſe few, who lived and died with equal glory. Such a man, as while others regard with admiration, I, after the ancient manner, am rather inclined to contemplate with the ſacred applauſe of ſilent veneration."

Lord Burleigh left two ſons, Thomas, the eldeſt, by his firſt wife, who was created Earl of Exeter by James I. which title continues in the ſame family at this time.

The youngeſt, by his ſecond wife, was Sir Robert Cecil, afterwards Earl of Saliſbury, who ſucceeded him in all his offices. And this title likewiſe continues in the family.

*** *Authorities.* Life of Cecil, by Collins, 1732. Camden's Annals of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Lloyd's State Worthies. Salmon's Chronological Hiſtorian. Biog. Britan. Walpole's Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors.

THE

THE LIFE OF

ROBERT DEVEREUX,

EARL OF ESSEX.

(A. D. 1567, to 1601.)

ROBERT DEVEREUX was the eldeſt ſon of Walter, the firſt earl of Eſſex, by Lettice, the daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, who was related to Queen Elizabeth. He was born in the year 1567, at Netherwood, his father's ſeat, in Herefordſhire.

In his tender years, he gave no tokens of a bright genius; but, on the contrary, he was ſo backward in his learning, that his father died with a very cold conceit of his abilities; which, ſome thought, proceeded from his great affection for his younger ſon, Walter Devereux, who, it ſeems, had quicker and more lively parts in his childhood. However, when he breathed his laſt in Ireland, he recommended his ſon Robert, then in the tenth year of his age, to the protection of Thomas Radcliffe, earl of Suſſex; and to the care of lord Burleigh, whom he appointed his guardian.

Mr Waterhouſe, then ſecretary for Ireland, a perſon equally favoured by his father and Sir Henry Sidney, lord-deputy of Ireland, had the immediate direction of his perſon and eſtate, which, though not a little injured by his father's public ſpirit, was, however, very conſiderable; and the regard ſhewn for his concerns, by the moſt powerful perſons at court, was ſo remarkable, that Mr Waterhouſe made no difficulty of affirming, there was not, at that time, any man ſo ſtrong in friends as the little earl of Eſſex.

In 1578, when he was about twelve years of age, he was ſent to the Univerſity of Cambridge by lord Burleigh, who placed him in Trinity-college, under the care of Dr Whitgift, the maſter, afterwards archbiſhop

biſhop of Canterbury. Here he firſt began to apply himſelf to learning, with uncommon aſſiduity: ſo that, in a ſhort time, he ſurpaſſed all the young noblemen of his age in the Univerſity.

In 1582, having taken the degree of maſter of arts, he ſoon after left Cambridge, and retired to his own houſe at Lambſie, in South-Wales, where he ſpent ſome time in privacy and retirement; and was ſo far from having any thing of the eagerneſs or impetuoſity natural to youth, that he grew fond of his rural retreat; ſo that it was with difficulty he was prevailed upon to leave it.

His firſt appearance at court, at leaſt as a candidate for royal favour, was in the ſeventeenth year of his age. However, when he came thither, it is certain, that he could not have hoped, or even wiſhed a better reception. He brought with him, with other powerful recommendations, a fine perſon, a polite addreſs, and an affability which procured him many friends.

Beſides theſe qualifications, which, together with his high rank, and the interceſſion of his friends, recommended him to the notice of the queen, it muſt not be forgotten, that his mother, who was Her Majeſty's couſin, not long after his father's death, had married the famous Earl of Leiceſter, the Queen's favourite. At firſt, however, the young earl of Eſſex ſhewed a ſtrong reluctance to make any uſe of Leiceſter's intereſt, being diſguſted at his mother's ſecond marriage; but in the end, by the perſuaſion of his beſt friends, he was ſo far reconciled to Leiceſter, that, towards the cloſe of the year 1585, he accompanied him, with many others of the nobility, to Holland; where we find him the next year in the field, with the title of general of the horſe; and, in this quality, he gave the higheſt proofs of perſonal courage, in the battle of Zutphen; and, for his gallant behaviour upon this occaſion, the earl of Leiceſter conferred upon him the honour of a knight banneret in his camp.

On his return to England, it very quickly appeared, that the queen not only approved, but was desirous also of rewarding, his services; and his step-father, the earl of Leicester, being advanced to the office of lord-steward of her majesty's household, 1587, the earl of of Essex succeeded him as master of the horse.

The following year, when her majesty thought fit to assemble the army at Tilbury, for the defence of the kingdom, in case the Spaniards had landed, and gave the command of it, under herself, to Leicester, she created the earl of Essex general of the horse: so that, from this time, he was considered as the rising favourite; and in this opinion of him, the people were soon confirmed, by the queen's conferring on him, shortly after, the order of the garter.

The earl of Leicester's death, which happened the same year, placed this new favourite on the pinnacle of prosperity: he had now no rival near the throne; but, on the contrary, the chief person in power, lord Burleigh, was his patron.

From this time, the queen shewed a decisive partiality in his favour, which, joined to his rapid promotions, affected his better judgment, obscured his reason, and made him give way to the impetuous sallies of pride, vanity, and arrogance, the effects of which discovered themselves occasionally in rude behaviour to the queen, who was pleased with the following incident, which gave a check to his presumption.

Sir Charles Blount, (afterwards Earl of Devonshire) a very handsome youth, having distinguished himself at a tilting-match, her majesty sent him a chess queen of gold enamelled, which he tied upon his arm with a crimson ribbon. Essex perceiving it, fired with jealousy, cried out with affected disdain, "Now I perceive, every fool must have a favour." This affront was justly resented by Sir Charles, who thereupon challenged Essex: they fought in Marybone-park, and the earl was disarmed, and wounded in the thigh.

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The queen was so far from being displeased at the disgrace that had befallen her favourite, who, in affronting Sir Charles, had called in question her judgment, that she swore a round oath, that it was fit that some one or other should take him down, otherwise there would be no ruling him. However, she reconciled the rivals, who to their honour continued good friends as long as they lived.

In the beginning of the year 1589, Sir John Norris, and Sir Francis Drake, undertook an expedition for restoring Don Antonio to the crown of Portugal; which the earl beheld as an action too glorious for others to perform, while he was only a spectator. He, therefore, followed the fleet and army to Spain, and, having joined them at Corunna, prosecuted the rest of the expedition with great vigilance and valour; which was not attended with much success, and it exposed him to the queen's displeasure; for he went without her majesty's leave. At his return, however, he soon recovered her good graces; nor was it long before this was testified to the world, by his obtaining new marks of favour, in grants of a very considerable value; a circumstance in which his credit with the queen seemed much superior to that of all her other favourites.

About this time, he ran a new hazard of the queen's favour, by a private, and, as it was then conceived, inconsiderate match with Frances, only daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, and the widow of Sir Philip Sidney; which her majesty pretended to be, in some measure, derogatory to the honour of the house of Essex; and, though, for the present, this business was passed by, yet it is thought that it was not soon forgotten.

In 1591, Henry IV. of France having demanded fresh assistance from the queen, though he had already a body of her troops in his service, she was pleased to send the earl of Essex, with four thousand men, a small train of artillery, and a competent fleet, into Normandy;

mandy; where it was propoſed that he ſhould join the French army, in order to undertake the ſiege of Rouen. The French king, however, either through want of power, the diſtraction of his affairs, or ſome other cauſe, neglected to peform the conditions upon which the ſuccours were ſent, though Eſſex made a long and hazardous journey to his camp, at that monarch's requeſt, in order to concert meaſures for giving the queen ſatisfaction.

Upon his return from this journey, which proved of little conſequence, Eſſex, to keep up the ſpirits of his officers, conferred the honour of knighthood upon many of them: a circumſtance with which the queen was much offended. He likewiſe made excurſions from his camp to the very walls of Rouen, and expoſed his perſon very freely in theſe ſkirmiſhes, and came off unhurt, but he was much blamed for his raſhneſs, his younger brother, Walter Devereux, then in the flower of his age, being ſlain in one of theſe mad exploits.

He went to England ſoon after, to give an account of the ſtate of things to the queen; and then returned to take the command of his troops; the ſiege of Rouen being formed, and the French king expreſſing a great deſire to become maſter of it.

The winter ſervice harraſſing the troops exceedingly, provoked Eſſex not a little, who ſolicited king Henry for leave to proceed in his own manner, promiſing to make a breach with his artillery, and then to ſtorm the place with the Engliſh troops, which the king refuſed; being unwilling to let the Engliſh take and plunder one of the richeſt towns in his dominions.

Eſſex, ſtill more diſpleaſed at this, and reſolving not to continue in a place where no reputation could be acquired, challenged the governor of Rouen, Mr Villars; and, upon his refuſing to fight, he left the command of the Engliſh troops to Sir Roger Williams, an officer of great courage and experience, and then embarked

barked for England, where his preſence was become very neceſſary, his enemies having repreſentd his behaviour in a very unfavourable light to the queen.

The next mention made of him by reſpectable hiſtorians, relates to his being preſent in the parliament which began at Weſtminſter in February, 1595; in which ſeſſion, chiefly through his intereſt, Sir Thomas Perrot, (the ſon of Sir John Perrot) who had married his ſiſter, was reſtored in blood.

About this time the queen raiſed him to the dignity of an efficient privy-counſellor, which in our day is ſtyled a cabinet-counſellor.

He met, however, in this, and in the ſucceeding years, with various cauſes of chagrin; partly from the loftineſs of his own temper, and partly from the artifices of thoſe who envied his greatneſs.

A dangerous and treaſonable book, written abroad by a Jeſuit, was publiſhed under the name of Doleman, with a view to create diſſenſion in England about the ſucceſſion to the crown. This book, as the whole deſign of it was moſt villainous, ſo, from a ſuperior ſpirit of malice, it was dedicated to the earl of Eſſex, on purpoſe to give him trouble; in which it had its effect; but his great popularity at this time raiſed him ſo many friends, that in the end, the artifice of his enemies was diſcovered, and both they and the book fell into the contempt they ſo juſtly merited.

Eſſex was ambitious of military fame, and uneaſy without it. This made him ſolicit the queen for the command of the land forces ſent out with the fleet, under Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins, againſt the Spaniſh colonies in 1594; but the queen abſolutely refuſed him, and upon this occaſion manifeſted a perſonal intereſt in his ſafety, which expoſed her to defamatory cenſures. She told him, "She loved him "and her realm too much to hazard his perſon in any "leſſer action than that which ſhould import her "crown and ſtate; and therefore willed him to be

"content;" and in order to make him ſo, though ſhe was generally very parſimonious, ſhe gave him a warrant for 4000l. adding theſe remarkable words, "Look "to thyſelf, good Eſſex, and be wiſe to thyſelf, without "giving thy enemies advantage, and my hand ſhall be "readier to help thee than any other."

Thus diſappointed of going abroad, Eſſex employed his talents at home in cultivating the queen's good graces and the favour of the people; and he happily ſucceeded in both, to which an alarming conſpiracy againſt the queen, diſcovered by him, greatly contributed. Roderigo Lopez, a Portugueſe Jew, of whoſe medical abilities and integrity queen Elizabeth entertained ſo high an opinion, that ſhe made him her domeſtic phyſician, had been bribed by the agents of Spain to poiſon the queen; but by the activity and vigilance of Eſſex, and of his dependants, who frequented the palace, and were familiar with the royal houſehold, the whole diabolical plan was traced and detected. Lopez, and two other Portugueſe ſubjects, were condemned, and executed for high treaſon, and Eſſex was highly extolled by the whole nation. And after this affair, the queen could not decently deny him thoſe military honours which he had ſo long ſolicited in vain.

Accordingly, in 1596, when the Spaniards laid ſiege to Calais, and the diſcharges of their artillery were heard at Greenwich, an army was haſtily raiſed, and marched to Dover, the command of which was given to the earl of Eſſex, the queen intending to have embarked theſe troops for the aſſiſtance of the French: which, however, they wiſely declined, being willing rather to let the Spaniards keep Calais for a ſhort time, than to ſee it reſcued from them by the Engliſh, who would, preſuming on their old rights, probably keep it for ever.

But the queen taking advantage of the diſpoſition which appeared in her people, to contribute, as far as

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in them lay, to keep the war at a diſtance, and to prevent the Spaniards from meditating a ſecond invaſion, ordered a fleet to be equipped for attacking Cadiz, the greateſt part of the expences being borne by the principal perſons engaged in that enterprize.

The command of the army and of the fleet for this expedition was entruſted to the earl of Eſſex, and lord Howard, then lord high admiral of England, with joint and equal authority: the fleet, for its number of ſhips, and for the land-ſoldiers and mariners aboard, being the moſt conſiderable that in thoſe times had been ſeen at ſea.

Amongſt other perſons of diſtinction, who ſerved on this expedition, were lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh; Sir Francis Vere, a veteran general, and who had acquired immortal fame in ſeveral campaigns in Holland and Flanders; Sir George Carew; and Sir Conyers Clifford; and theſe were nominated to be a council of war to the commanders in chief, upon any emergency. The Engliſh fleet conſiſted of 150 ſail, and they were joined by a Dutch fleet, conſiſting of 24 ſhips of the line, under the command of admiral Van Duvenvoord.

On the firſt of June they ſailed from Plymouth, but were forced to put back by a contrary wind; which changing, they took the firſt opportunity of putting again to ſea. On the 18th of the ſame month they arrived at Cape St Vincent, where they met with an Iriſh bark, which informed them that the port of Cadiz was full of rich merchant ſhips, and they had no notice whatever of the ſailing of the Engliſh fleet, or that ſuch an expedition was ſo much as intended.

After this welcome news they purſued their voyage, and on the 20th, in the morning, they anchored near St Sebaſtian's, on the weſt ſide of the iſland of Cadiz, where the admiral would have had the forces landed, in order to their immediately attacking the town; which Eſſex cauſed to be attempted, but found it to be

be impracticable, and, upon the advice of Sir Walter Raleigh, desisted.

It was then proposed by the earl to begin with attacking the fleet, which was a very hazardous enterprize, but, at last, agreed to by the lord-admiral; on which Essex, when he received the news, threw his hat into the sea for joy. The next day this gallant resolution was executed with all imaginable bravery, and, in point of service, none did better, or hazarded his person more, than the earl of Essex, who, in his own ship, the Due Repulse, went to the assistance of Sir Walter Raleigh, and offered, if it had been necessary, to have seconded him in boarding the St Philip. The Spaniards behaved very gallantly, so long as there were any hopes; and, when there was none, set fire to the ships and retired.

The earl of Essex then landed 800 men at the port of Puntall; and having first taken proper measures for destroying the bridge, he attacked the place with so much fury, that it was quickly taken; and the next day the citadel surrendered upon capitulation, by which a great ransom was stipulated for the town. An offer was then made of two millions of ducats to spare the ships, and more might have been obtained; but the lord high-admiral said, He came there to consume, and not to compound. When the Spaniards were informed of this, they resolved to have the burning of their own fleet, which they accordingly set on fire; and their loss was computed at twenty millions.

The earl was very desirous of keeping Cadiz, which he offered to have done with a very small garrison; but the council differed from him in opinion: so that, having plundered the island and demolished the forts, they embarked on the fifth of July, and bore away for the port of Faro, a bishop's see in Portugal, which they plundered and destroyed. But a very valuable library belonging to Jerom Osorius, a celebrated Portuguese prelate, who died in 1580, fell to the share of

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the earl of Eſſex, who generouſly gave it to the Bodleian library, founded by Sir Thomas Bodley, the following year, 1597.

They then proceeded to Cape St Vincent, and, being driven by a briſk wind out to ſea, it fell under conſideration, whether they ſhould not ſail for the Azores, in hopes of intercepting the Plate-fleet, which was carried in the negative; and the earl's propoſal, with two of her majeſty's ſhips, and ten others, to make this attempt, was likewiſe rejected, which Camden attributes to the deſire of ſome of the officers, who had made large booties, to get their treaſure ſafe on ſhore. They looked in, however, at Corunna, and the earl would have proceeded to St Andreo and St Sebaſtian; but others thinking they had done enough, the whole fleet returned proſperouſly to Plymouth on the 8th and 10th of Auguſt following.

The earl of Eſſex was ſo much diſguſted at the other officers, for refuſing to concur in the enterprizes he had propoſed, that, after his return, he drew up and diſperſed an account of this expedition, in which he freely cenſured the conduct of his brother officers, not ſparing even the lord high-admiral himſelf. This produced a recrimination, in which Eſſex was charged with want of cool judgment, and intemperate raſhneſs. His adverſaries likewiſe being men of approved valour, and long experience, he created a number of powerful enemies by this indiſcreet ſtep, and they never forgave him.

The party againſt him was daily ſtrengthened by all who envied his greatneſs; and the firſt meaſure they took, was, to make the queen jealous of his popularity. On this account, they told her majeſty, that it would not be at all expedient for her ſervice to receive ſuch as he recommended to civil employments; and this they carried ſo far as to make even his approbation deſtructive to men's fortunes whom they themſelves had encouraged

couraged and recommended: a thing hardly to be credited, if we had not the higheſt evidence to prove it.

It was a natural conſequence, that the earl ſhould behave to thoſe he took to be the authors of ſuch counſels with viſible marks of anger and diſcontent; and this conduct of his, made him frequently upon bad terms even with the queen herſelf, who was a princeſs very jealous of her authority, and, in caſes of this nature, bore but very indifferently with any expoſtulations. However, as well out of her natural kindneſs to him, as from a deſire of ſhewing a juſt acknowledgment for his late ſervice, ſhe was pleaſed to appoint him maſter of the ordnance by patent, in the year 1597.

This ſeems to have had a good effect, in quieting the mind, and raiſing the ſpirits of the diſcontented Eſſex, who, upon a report that the Spaniards were forming a new fleet at Ferrol and Corunna, for the invaſion of Ireland at leaſt, if not England, readily offered his ſervice to the queen, and cheerfully declared, as Camden aſſures us, that he would either defeat this new armada, which had threatened England for a year together, or periſh in the attempt. The queen, well pleaſed with this propoſal, acceded to it, and cauſed a conſiderable fleet, though not ſo conſiderable as the action required, to be equipped for this ſervice; and the earl of Eſſex was appointed general, admiral, and commander in chief.

We may gueſs at the intereſt which the earl had in the ſucceſs of this voyage, by the number of his friends who engaged therein as volunteers; particularly the earls of Rutland and Southampton, and the lords Cromwell and Rich. And his ſecret enemies obſerving his influence over the queen, could not refuſe to ſerve under him in this expedition. His ſanguine hopes, however, were, in ſome meaſure diſappointed; for, ſailing about the ninth of July, 1597, from Plymouth, they met, at ſixty leagues diſtance, with ſo rough a ſtorm,

ſtorm, and of four days continuance, that they were obliged to put back to Plymouth, where they remained wind-bound for a month; in which time a great part of their proviſions was conſumed.

While the fleet was thus laid up, the earl of Eſſex and Sir Walter Raleigh ſet out poſt for the court, in order to receive freſh inſtructions. The propoſals made by Eſſex, even after this diſappointment, were very bold and great; but, as Camden ſeems to inſinuate, very difficult and dangerous, if not impracticable; ſo that the queen would not countenance his projects, but rather left the direction of the expedition to the commanders in chief, according as the ſeaſon and circumſtances might encourage or permit.

The fleet being refitted, and victualled, Eſſex put all the land-forces on ſhore, and diſbanded them by the queen's expreſs command, except 1000 veterans, the regiment belonging to Sir Francis Vere, who went on the expedition. On the 17th of Auguſt, the fleet ſailed a ſecond time from Plymouth, having now two points in view, the one to burn the Spaniſh fleet in their own harbours, the other to intercept the homeward-bound Plate-fleet, expected to touch as uſual, about this time, at the Azores.

Eſſex therefore made the beſt of his way for theſe iſlands; but firſt he took care to inform Sir Walter Raleigh, who commanded one diviſion of the fleet, that he himſelf intended to attack Fayal, one of thoſe iſlands. By ſome accident the ſquadrons ſeparated, and Raleigh arriving firſt, and juſtly apprehending that the ſmalleſt delay might have prevented their deſign, very gallantly attacked, and very happily ſucceeded, in making himſelf maſter of the iſland, before the arrival of Eſſex with the reſt of the fleet.

But Eſſex, jealous of Raleigh, expreſſed great diſpleaſure at his conduct, and conſtruing it into a deſign to rob him of the honour of the conqueſt, he caſhiered the captains who ſerved under Raleigh, and would have

have ſhewn his reſentment to the admiral himſelf, if lord Thomas Howard had not prevailed on Raleigh to make ſome conceſſions to the earl, as his ſuperior in command, which produced a temporary reconciliation between them.

The Spaniſh fleet, the grand object of the expedition, got ſafe into the port of Angra, owing to the miſconduct of one of the pilots, who diſſuaded Eſſex from ſtaying at Gracioſa, where the whole fleet always touched; alleging, that the haven was unſafe, which occaſioned a ſeparation of the Engliſh fleet into different diviſions, with a view of intercepting the Spaniards; and thus they paſſed unſeen, except by Sir William Monſon, a naval officer of diſtinguiſhed reputation, who had ſignalized himſelf in almoſt every engagement againſt the Spaniards, and was but ill-requited for his great ſervices, in the reign of James I. This brave officer's ſtation happened to be moſt remote from the Spaniſh fleet, yet he was the only commander who obſerved them, and gave the proper ſignals for a general chace, but without effect. However, the earl of Eſſex fell in with three rich Spaniſh merchant-men from the Havannah; the value of whoſe cargoes, according to Sir William Monſon's account of this voyage, more than defrayed the expences of the whole armament.

Eſſex, greatly chagrined at the eſcape of the Plate-fleet, reſolved to attempt ſome enterpriſe of conſequence, that might keep up his popularity. With this view, he took the town of Villa Franca by ſurpriſe, and pillaged it; after which he ſet ſail for England; and, on his paſſage, he had certainly fell in with a formidable fleet of Spaniſh men of war, deſtined to make a ſecond attempt to invade England, if a violent ſtorm had not prevented it, and greatly damaged the Engliſh fleet. But the ſame ſtorm proved ſtill more fatal to the enemy, who loſt eighteen capital ſhips; and the reſt being diſperſed, this projected invaſion failed.

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The earl of Eſſex, ſoon after his arrival in England, repaired to court, where he found the queen incenſed againſt him, becauſe the expedition had not been more ſucceſsful; and as he met with ſome mortifications at court, he retired to his houſe at Wanſtead, and, under pretence of ſickneſs, abſented himſelf from the ſervice of parliament, then ſitting. Camden reports, that his diſſatisfaction aroſe from the lord admiral's being created earl of Nottingham in his abſence, with ſome particular clauſes in the preamble of his patent, which, as they were highly honourable for that noble peer, Eſſex conceived threw ſome diſparagement upon himſelf. And, by way of ſatisfaction, he was created earl marſhal of England, in December, 1597.

But another cauſe of diſguſt was the appointment of Sir Robert Cecil, in his abſence, to the office of ſecretary of ſtate. This gentleman was a ſecret enemy to Eſſex, and reſtrained only from oppoſing him to the utmoſt, by the advice of his father, the good old lord treaſurer Burleigh. And, as if Elizabeth meant to apologize to her favourite for every ſtep ſhe took contrary to his inclinations, ſhe made Eſſex a preſent of ſeven thouſand pounds, to reconcile him to the promotion of Sir Robert Cecil, with whom he appears to have been on good terms, ſoon after; for Sir Robert being ſent on an embaſſy to France, he undertook the diſcharge of the duties of his office, during his abſence. But on Cecil's return in May, 1598, with an account of a peace being concluded between Henry IV. of France, and Philip II. of Spain, a peace between England and Spain was propoſed, which cauſed violent diſputes in the council about the expediency of that meaſure; which was very earneſtly, as well as eloquently preſſed by the old and wiſe lord treaſurer Burleigh; and as warmly decried by the earl of Eſſex. The treaſurer, at length, grew into a great heat; inſomuch that he told the earl, that he ſeemed to be intent upon nothing but blood and ſlaughter. Eſſex explained himſelf

upon this, that the blood and ſlaughter of the queen's enemies might be very lawfully his intention; that he was not againſt a ſolid, but a ſpecious and precarious peace; that the Spaniards were a ſubtle and ambitious people, who had contrived to do England more miſchief in time of peace than of war; and, that, as to any enemy, whoſe hands it was impoſſible to bind by treaty, it was better not to tie up our own. The treaſurer at laſt produced a prayer-book, in which he ſhewed Eſſex this paſſage, "Men of blood ſhall not live out half their days."

Eſſex, in vindication of his own opinion, drew up an APOLOGY (which he addreſſed to his learned friend Mr Anthony Bacon) "againſt thoſe who jealouſly and maliciouſly taxed him to be the only hinderer of the peace and quiet of his country." This piece is a laſting memorial of his great abilities, both as a ſtateſman and a writer; but being printed and publiſhed, it gave great offence to the queen, who abhorred nothing ſo much, as ſubmitting any political meaſure to the notice, and conſequently to the ſtrictures of the people.

To add to his misfortune, death deprived him of his great patron the lord Burleigh; and now his enemies, freed from all reſtraint, began to form a powerful party againſt him. But he ſtill had ſuch an aſcendency over the queen, that if he had kept within the bounds of decent reſpect to his ſovereign, all their attempts to diſgrace him would have been abortive.

By the death of the lord-treaſurer Burleigh, the chancellorſhip of the univerſity of Cambridge became vacant; upon which, that learned body choſe the earl of Eſſex in his room. Upon this account he went down to pay them a viſit, and was entertained at Queen's-college with great magnificence; and, as a proof of their affection, the room in which he ſlept was, long after, diſtinguiſhed by the name of Eſſex-chamber. We may account this one of the laſt inſtances of this great man's felicity, for he was now advanced

ced too high to ſit at eaſe; and thoſe who wiſhed for his honours and his employments watched every opportunity to accompliſh his fall.

In this ſituation of his affairs, unfortunately, inſtead of controlling his high and ſtubborn ſpirit, he ſuffered his paſſions to get the better of his reaſon; when his advice was not followed, he aſſumed the tone of a dictator; and if this failed him, he then affected to treat his opponents with ſupercilious contempt. In a diſpute with the queen, concerning the choice of a proper perſon to be ſent out governor of Ireland, towards the end of the year 1598, unable to prevail upon her Majeſty to relinquiſh her own nomination of Sir William Knollys, the earl's uncle, in oppoſition to his recommendation of Sir George Carew, he had the inſolence to turn his back upon her majeſty, who, taking fire at this diſreſpect, inſtantly gave him a violent blow on the cheek; at the ſame time, bidding him go and be hanged.

The exaſperated earl, loſing all preſence of mind, committed a ſecond error, for he put his hand upon his ſword; upon which the lord high admiral ruſhed in between him and the queen, and Eſſex withdrew, ſwearing bitterly, that he neither could, nor would put up with ſuch an affront. His ruin may be dated from this event; for Elizabeth, naturally jealous of her authority, and alarmed at the impetuoſity of his temper, though ſhe appeared to be reconciled to him, from a motive of prudence, no longer placed the ſame unlimited confidence in him.

An event happened much about this time, which ſhewed the ſentiments the enemies of England had of the earl, and ought therefore to have endeared him to ſuch as had a real affection for their country. One Edward Squire was ſeized and impriſoned for treaſon, and his caſe came out to be this. He had been a groom in the queen's ſtables, went afterwards to ſea with Sir Francis Drake, was taken priſoner and carried to

Spain, where he was perſuaded by a Jeſuit to undertake poiſoning the earl of Eſſex, and afterwards queen Elizabeth: for performing which, he had poiſon given him in a bladder. He found means to rub this, as he was directed, upon the pommel of the queen's ſaddle; got himſelf afterwards recommended to ſerve on board the earl's ſhip in the iſland voyage, where, in like manner, he poiſoned both the arms of his great chair; yet no effect followed in either caſe. Upon this, the Spaniſh Jeſuit, ſuſpecting the man and not his drug, cauſed information to be given in England againſt Squire, who, finding himſelf betrayed by his confeſſor, opened the whole ſcene, and plainly acknowledged his endeavours to diſpatch both the queen and the earl; for which he was deſervedly executed.

The miſeries of Ireland continued all this time, or rather increaſed; and, when propoſals were made, in the queen's council, for ſending over a new governor, with certain reſtrictions, Eſſex took occaſion of ſhewing, that nothing had been hitherto ſo expenſive as an ill-timed frugality; and that the Iriſh rebels had been the only gainers by the reſtraint put upon the Engliſh deputies. Thoſe who hated the earl, were not diſpleaſed when they found him in this diſpoſition; and, at length, in their turn, took occaſion from his objections to ſuggeſt that the total reduction of that iſland was to be expected from none but himſelf, which, at firſt, he declined: but perceiving that he could enjoy little quiet or comfort at home; that it was with difficulty he maintained his credit, and that, by diſappointing the expectations of his friends, he ſhould gradually loſe them, he conſented to accept the fatal poſt of lord lieutenant of Ireland, and agreed to go over to that kingdom, which had been the grave of his father's fortunes, and which, his beſt friends foreſaw, would prove the gulph of his own. It is true, indeed, that he had a great army granted him; that due care was taken for the payment of it; that his powers were ve-

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ry ample, and his appointments very great. But theſe were obtained with many ſtruggles; and notice was taken of every thing he promiſed, or ſeemed to promiſe, in order to obtain them; and, when all things were regulated, he was ſo far from going with alacrity, as to a place which he had ſought, and to a command which he meditated for the ſake of greater things, that he ſeemed rather to look upon it as a baniſhment, and as a place aſſigned him to retreat from his ſovereign's preſent diſpleaſure, rather than a potent government beſtowed upon him by her favour.

The truth of this is apparent, from an epiſtle of his to the queen, written after his appointment to the government of Ireland, and before his embarkation for that kingdom. It is preſerved among the Harleian MSS. at the Britiſh Muſeum, from which the following copy was taken:

"To the Queen.

"From a mind delighting in ſorrow; from ſpirits waſted with paſſion; from a heart torn in pieces with care, grief, and travail; from a man that hateth himſelf, and all things elſe that keep him alive; what ſervice can your Majeſty expect, ſince any ſervice paſt deſerves no more than baniſhment to the curſedeſt of all iſlands? It is your rebels pride and ſucceſſion muſt give me leave to ranſom myſelf out of this hateful priſon, out of my loathed body; which, if it happen ſo, your Majeſty ſhall have no cauſe to miſlike the faſhion of my death, ſince the courſe of my life could never pleaſe you.

"Happy he could finiſh forth his fate
"In ſome unhaunted deſart, moſt obſcure
"From all ſociety, from love and hate
"Of worldly folk; then ſhould he ſleep ſecure;
"Then wake again, and yield God ever praiſe;
"Content with hips, and haws, and bramble-berry:

" In contemplation paſſing out his days,
" And change of holy thoughts to make him merry;
" Who, when he dies, his tomb may be a buſh,
" Where harmleſs Robin dwells with gentle Thruſh.

" Your Majeſty's exiled ſervant,
ROBERT ESSEX."

On the 12th of March, 1599, his commiſſion for lord lieutenant paſſed the great ſeal; and, on the twenty-ſeventh of the ſame month, about two in the afternoon, he ſet out from Seething-lane, and paſſing through the city in a plain habit, accompanied by many of the nobility, he was attended by vaſt crowds of people out of town; and it was obſerved, with a view perhaps, to prepare the world to have a bad opinion of his conduct, that the weather was exceedingly fair, when he took horſe, but by that time he came to Iſlington, there was a heavy ſtorm of rain, attended with thunder and lightning. The like bad weather he met with at ſea, ſo that he did not arrive at Dublin, or take upon him his charge, before the fifteenth of April, 1599.

He found things in that country in a ſtate very different from what he expected, and perceived, that there was nothing to be done, at leaſt to any purpoſe, till he was well acquainted with the country in which he was to act. He found, likewiſe, that the new raiſed men he had brought over were altogether unfit for action, till they were ſeaſoned to the country, and well acquainted with diſcipline. Theſe conſiderations hindered him from marching directly to Ulſter, leſt the earl of Tyrone ſhould take any advantage of his weakneſs; and the council deſiring that he would ſuppreſs ſome diſorders in Munſter, he thought that a fair occaſion of exerciſing his new troops, and did it effectually.

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On his return to Dublin, he wrote a letter to the queen, containing a free and full repreſentation of the ſtate of things in that country; which moſt admirable performance, pointing out all the ſteps that were afterwards taken, and by which his ſucceſſor made an end of the war, remains upon record in Ireland. This letter he ſent over to the queen by his ſecretary, in hopes, that from thence ſhe might have derived a juſt notion of the ſtate of things in that iſland; but it produced no ſuch effect. On the contrary, the queen was exceedingly provoked that he had not marched into Ulſter, in order to attack Tyrone, and repeated her orders upon that head in very ſtrong terms. Before theſe arrived, however, Sir Henry Harrington, with ſome of the freſh troops, had been worſted by an inferior number of the O'Brians; which ſo provoked Eſſex, that he caſhiered all the officers, and decimated the private men.

When he received the queen's orders, and was on the point of marching into Ulſter, he was prevailed upon to enter the county of Ophelie, to reduce the O'Connors and the O'Moore's; which he performed; but his troops were ſo haraſſed and diminiſhed thereby, that, with the advice and conſent of the council of Ireland, he wrote home for a recruit of two thouſand men. In the midſt of theſe croſſes in Ireland, an army was ſuddenly raiſed in England, under the command of the earl of Nottingham; nobody well knowing why; but, in reality, from the ſuggeſtions of the earl's enemies to the queen, that he rather meditated an invaſion of his native country, than the reduction of the Iriſh rebels.

At length, Eſſex, intending to proceed directly to Ulſter, ſent orders to Sir Conyers Clifford, who commanded in Connaught, to march towards the enemy on that ſide, that Tyrone might be obliged to divide his forces; which was executed, but with ſuch ill-fortune, that the Engliſh, being ſurpriſed, were defeated, with

with the loſs of their commander in chief, together with Sir Alexander Ratcliffe, and one hundred and forty men.

But this freſh diſappointment did not prevent his march againſt Tyrone, as ſoon as the reinforcement from England arrived. His army, even with this augmentation, was conſiderably inferior to that of Tyrone; and, to add to his diſtreſs, a general diſlike to the ſervice prevailed among his troops, ſo that many deſerted, and others counterfeited ſickneſs. The ſeaſon alſo was too far advanced for him to be able to bring on a deciſive action with the enemy, who, poſſeſſed of all the ſtrong holds, and advantageous ſituations for encampment, ſeemed reſolved to harraſs the Engliſh troops by fatiguing marches and countermarches, and to avoid a battle by every ſtratagem of war.

Thus circumſtanced, he accepted the propoſal of a conference with Tyrone, who ſent an expreſs to him for that purpoſe by a ſpecial meſſenger. The generals, according to the agreement, met alone, at ſome diſtance from their camps, which were formed on the oppoſite banks of a river.

The earl of Tyrone, as a mark of reſpect and ſubmiſſion to the lord-lieutenant, advanced from his ſide of the ford of Ballyclynch into the river, ſaddle-deep; and being then within hearing, he conferred with Eſſex, who remained on the oppoſite bank. This interview happened on the 8th of September, and a truce was concluded to the firſt of May, to be ratified however afreſh every ſix weeks, and to be broken off by either party, on giving fourteen days notice from the expiration of any of the intermediate periods. The policy of Eſſex, in this reſerved condition, is evident; for all that he wanted was to gain time to repair to England, to counter-act the deſigns of his enemies; and in caſe the queen ſhould blame him for treating with Tyrone, he had it in his power to declare, that he

he could renew the war, if her majeſty thought proper, in a few days.

However, his artifice not only failed of its effect, but appeared to the queen to be ſuch an unwarrantable ſtretch of power in a ſubject, that ſhe readily liſtened to the ſuggeſtions of the earl of Nottingham, Sir Robert Cecil, and Sir Walter Raleigh, who all perſuaded her, that this treaty concealed a treaſonable deſign to invade England with the aſſiſtance of Tyrone's army, joined to his own forces; and as theſe miniſters had the chief adminiſtration of public affairs, and had conſtantly oppoſed Eſſex, it is not at all ſurpriſing, that their perſonal fears ſhould have made them ſuſpect too much, eſpecially as Eſſex had openly declared he would uſe every means in his power to remove them from the queen's perſon and councils for ever. Yet ſome of our moſt reſpectable hiſtorians ſeem to think, that unlawful connections took place between Tyrone and Eſſex at their private meeting; and from not permitting any of their attendants to be preſent, a preſumptive proof of treaſon is adduced. Be this as it may, it is certain, that he took a ſtep immediately after the treaty with Tyrone, which was extremely cenſurable; for he quitted the ſupreme command with which the queen had inveſted him, and leaving the affairs of Ireland in an unſettled ſtate, repaired privately to England againſt the conſent of his privy council there, and at the very inſtant he had received inſtructions from the privy council at home, to act with more vigour againſt the rebels in that kingdom.

He arrived in England before the miniſtry or the queen had the ſlighteſt notice, or even any ſuſpicion of his raſh deſign; and by riding night and day he reached the court before any intelligence could be conveyed to his enemies. His eagerneſs to ſee the queen before ſhe could conſult her miniſters upon his return was ſo great, that without ſtaying to change his dreſs, in the dirty condition he was in, he entered the queen's bed-

bed-chamber, who was but juſt riſen, and was ſitting with her hair about her face. The earl inſtantly fell on his knees at her feet, kiſſed her hand, and intreated a private conference, which we may preſume turned upon the neceſſity of his preſence, to wipe off the aſperſions caſt on him by his enemies; and it is certain he ſo far prevailed, before the queen had time to reflect on his unprecedented conduct, that he withdrew with viſible marks of ſatisfaction, and was heard to ſay, though he had met with ſtorms abroad, he had found a ſweet calm at home.

But as ſoon as the news of his reception at court reached the ears of the lord high admiral, and Sir Robert Cecil, now lord treaſurer, they repaired to court, and moſt probably aſcribed the earl's ſecret journey to England to diſloyal and factious motives; for when Eſſex returned to her majeſty in the afternoon, he found the ſtorm gathering againſt him; for ſhe not only received him with great coolneſs, but ordered him to be confined to his houſe, and to ſubmit his conduct in Ireland, as well as his deſertion of his high ſtation, to the examination of the privy-council: the reſult of which was, his commitment to the cuſtody of the lord keeper Egerton, and all intercourſe was cut off between him and his friends, even by letters, nor was the counteſs of Eſſex permitted to ſee him.

At this time, it is probable, the queen would have been appeaſed, if he had aſked pardon and returned to Ireland; nor is it ſuſpected, that his enemies had any worſe deſign againſt him, than that of keeping him at a diſtance from court. But his pride was too deeply wounded; and though he behaved with great humility to appearance; yet he was ſo ſtruck with the queen's change of behaviour, and the manifeſt advantage his enemies had gained over him, by his own raſhneſs, that it threw him into a dangerous illneſs; upon which the queen relented. She even went ſo far, as to ſend meſſages to him, and aſſured him, that if it could have been

been done, conſiſtently with her honour, ſhe would have viſited him. As his diſorder proceeded from grief and vexation, her majeſty's kindneſs reſtored him him to health, after he had been in a weak and languiſhing condition near three months.

In the ſummer of the year 1600, Eſſex recovered his liberty; and, in the autumn following, he made Mr Cuffe, who had been his ſecretary in Ireland, his chief confident, who laboured to perſuade him, that ſubmiſſion would never do him any good; that the queen was in the hands of a faction, who were his enemies; and, that the only way to reſtore his fortune, was to find the means, at any rate, to obtain an audience, in which he might be able to repreſent his own caſe. The earl heard this dangerous advice without conſenting to it, till he found that there were no hopes of getting his farm of the ſweet wines renewed: then, it is ſaid, that giving looſe to his paſſion, he let fall many vehement expreſſions; and, amongſt the reſt, this fatal reflection, "that the queen grew old and cankered, "and that her mind was as crooked as her carcaſe." Camden ſays, that this was aggravated by ſome of the court ladies, whom he had diſappointed in their intrigues. His enemies, who had exact intelligence of all he propoſed, having provided effectually againſt the execution of his deſigns, hurried him upon his fate, by a meſſage ſent on the evening of the ſeventh of February, 1601, requiring him to attend the council, which he declined. He then gave out that they ſought his life, kept a watch in Eſſex-houſe all night, and ſummoned his friends, for his defence, the next morning.

The queen being informed of the great reſort of people of all ranks to the earl, ſent the lord keeper Egerton, the earl of Worceſter, Sir Francis Knollys, and the lord-chief-juſtice Popham, to know his grievances; whom, after a ſhort and ineffectual conference, he confined; and then, attended by the earls

of

of Rutland and Southampton, the lord Sands, the lord Monteagle, and about two hundred gentlemen, he went into the city, where the earl of Bedford, the lord Cromwell, and ſome other gentlemen, joined him. But his dependance on the populace failed him; and Sir Robert Cecil prevailing upon his brother, the lord Burleigh to go with Sir Gilbert Dethick, then king at arms, and proclaim Eſſex and his adherents traitors, in the principal ſtreets, the earl found it impoſſible to return to his houſe by land; and, therefore, he ſent Sir Ferdinando Gorges before, to releaſe the chief juſtice, who, for his own ſake, thought fit to extend that order to the reſt of the privy-counſellors, and then with his principal attendants he returned in boats to Eſſex-houſe; which was quickly inveſted by the earl of Nottingham, lord-admiral, with a great force; to whom, after many diſputes, and ſome blood ſpilt, he and his aſſociates at laſt ſurrendered.

Eſſex was carried that night to the archbiſhop of Canterbury's palace at Lambeth, with the earl of Southampton; and the next day they were ſent to the Tower.

Great pains were now taken to draw from him very large and full confeſſions; which was the more eaſy, as he was truly and ſincerely pious; and, after he was once perſuaded, that his project was of a treaſonable nature, he made a point of conſcience to diſcloſe all he knew, though it was highly prejudicial to his friends, and could do no good to himſelf; and, indeed, he did not appear either to deſign or deſire it.

On the 19th of February, the earl of Eſſex, and his friend the earl of Southampton, were brought to their trial before twenty-five peers, who unanimouſly found them guilty of high treaſon. When ſentence was pronounced by lord Buckhurſt, appointed lord high ſteward for this occaſion, the earl of Southampton received it as a man ſenſible of the crime of which he had been guilty. His behaviour was ſerene and ſubmiſſive; he

intreated

intreated the good offices of his brother peers, in ſuch pathetic terms, that he excited the compaſſion of all the ſpectators; and it is highly probable he owed his pardon to their lordſhips, for he had laboured under the queen's diſpleaſure before this laſt offence, on account of his marrying without her majeſty's conſent.

The earl of Eſſex acted a very different part: he ſaid in a haughty ſtrain, that he was prepared to die, and though he would not wiſh to have it repreſented to the queen that he deſpiſed her clemency, yet he deſired it might be underſtood, that he ſhould not ſolicit it by any mean ſubmiſſions.

However, it is certain, that he relaxed as to his obſtinate denial of his guilt, ſhortly after his condemnation, and made an ample confeſſion in the Tower of the conſpiracy to Aſhton his chaplain, and was reconciled to Sir Robert Cecil, whom he had juſtly conſidered as his greateſt enemy. Sir Robert poſſeſſed the political talents of his father, but not his integrity; ſo that his talents were ſometimes abuſed, and particularly in the caſe of the earl of Eſſex, whoſe ruin he occaſioned by artful tricks of ſtate; ſuch as procuring him to be appointed lord lieutenant of Ireland, and then ſending him inſtructions which he knew he could not follow, for want of a ſufficient force. At the ſame time, availing himſelf of his abſence, he miſrepreſented all his actions to the queen; and by theſe means hurried him into thoſe criminal exceſſes which proved fatal to him. Cecil is even accuſed of having taken a baſe unwarrantable ſtep to determine Eſſex to quit Ireland precipitately, which was the foundation of his diſgrace, by ſtopping all the ſhips bound from England for Ireland, except one, which ſailed direct for Dublin, and by his orders carried over and ſpread a falſe report of the queen's death; an event which he knew would make Eſſex deſert his ſtation.

The earl now caſt a blemiſh on his character, independently of his public conduct, which turned the

tide of his popularity, and made his death much leſs lamented than might have been expected, as he had been ſuch a favourite with all orders of men. He unneceſſarily gave up his friends, delivering in his own hand-writing a detail of his connections, which proved fatal to ſeveral, who had not the leaſt apprehenſion of being thus betrayed by the very man, who had ſeduced them into a treaſonable correſpondence with him. Amongſt others, the lord Montjoy, reſident in France, was recalled and committed to the Tower; nor is it at all improbable, that the high ſpirit of Eſſex ſuggeſted to him, after he was ſenſible of his guilt, this method of ſaving his own life, as leſs degrading than that of ſoliciting for mercy: the diſcovery of the whole plot, he might conſider as a ſervice, which entitled him to a pardon as a matter of right, not of conceſſion.

However this be, it was natural for Elizabeth to feel ſome reluctance to ſign the warrant for taking off the head of a nobleman, who had been her profeſſed favourite, who, notwithſtanding all his faults and foibles, had done the nation ſignal ſervice upon various occaſions, and had ſo lately been the ornament of her court; in which he was reſpected for every amiable accompliſhment. She accordingly appeared irreſolute, but after waiting a few days, in expectation he would ſue for a pardon, ſhe was exaſperated at his pride, and her own getting the better of any remaining affection for him, ſhe ſigned the warrant, and ordered his execution, complying only with his wiſh, in permitting it to be as private as poſſible. A ſcaffold was therefore prepared in the inner court of the Tower; and he was beheaded on the 25th of February, 1601, only a few of the aldermen, and ſome noblemen of the court, being preſent, by the expreſs command of the queen.

The behaviour of Eſſex in his laſt moments was truly penitent and devout, and though at the point of being cut off in the flower of his age, he did not expreſs any ſolicitude for life, or fear of death; but, unfortunately,

fortunately, he muſt have ſuffered great pain; for the executioner gave him three blows of the axe before he ſevered the head from the body.

Thus fell the gallant Earl of Eſſex, whoſe military glory, loyalty to his ſovereign (the treaſon for which he ſuffered excepted), zeal for the true intereſt and proſperity of his country, and many eminent virtues, would have rendered him one of the brighteſt characters in the records of fame; if ambition, ſelf-conceit, and impetuoſity of temper, which are but too frequently the companions of rapid proſperity in the early ſtages of life, had not triumphed over fortitude, reaſon, and integrity.

His royal miſtreſs did not long ſurvive this domeſtic calamity, and the ill ſtate of health which came upon her after the death of the counteſs of Nottingham, has by moſt hiſtorians been attributed to a confeſſion made by the counteſs on her death-bed to the queen concerning Eſſex. The particulars of this interview and ſecret will be found in the ſucceeding life of the earl of Nottingham, which follows next in order, as his lordſhip, after the fall of Eſſex, was the queen's principal confident, and, in fact, her firſt miniſter of ſtate.

The earl of Eſſex was a liberal patron of learned men, and ſeveral ſmall tracts written by him, have likewiſe obtained him a place in the ingenious Mr Walpole's catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, who beſtows very great encomiums on a ſtate of Ireland, drawn up by the earl and tranſmitted to the queen; ſtyling it a maſterly compoſition, in which the abilities of a great general and ſtateſman are conſpicuous, as well as the talents of a fine writer.

The earl was much courted by the poets of his own time, and was the ſubject of numerous ſonnets, or popular ballads. "I could produce evidence," ſays Mr Warton, "that he ſcarce ever went out of Eng-"land, or even left London, on the moſt frivolous en-"terprize, without a paſtoral in his praiſe, or a pa-

"negyric in metre, which were ſold and ſung in the "ſtreets."

*** *Authorities.* Camden's Annals. Baker's Chronicle. Winſtanley's Engliſh Worthies. Birch's Memoirs of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. Hume's Hiſtory of England.

THE LIFE OF

CHARLES HOWARD,

EARL OF NOTTINGHAM,

AND

LORD HIGH ADMIRAL OF ENGLAND.

Including an account of the laſt Illneſs and Death of QUEEN ELIZABETH.

[A. D. 1536, to 1603.]

THE glorious catalogue of immortal patriots, whoſe valour, wiſdom, and integrity, ſupported the dignity, and preſerved the independency of the realm of England, at a criſis, when the moſt formidable power of Europe, aided by the Roman pontiffs, and the ſecret enemies of our happy conſtitution, meditated her ruin, is now to be cloſed with conciſe memoirs of the illuſtrious admiral, who had the command of the Engliſh fleet in that great and victorious engagement, which happily decided the fate of this country, and fixed the ſtandard of religious and civil liberty on a ſure and permanent baſis.

Charles Howard was the ſon of Thomas Howard, created baron of Effingham in Surry, by queen Mary in

in 1554, and raiſed to the dignity of lord high admiral, in which office he was continued by queen Elizabeth, till age and infirmities rendered him unfit for that active department, and then he was made lord-privy-ſeal, in which ſtation he died in 1572. This, his only ſon, was born in 1536, and in his early youth, having diſcovered an inclination for the ſea-ſervice, his father bred him up under him, and took him out with him upon ſome cruiſing voyages, in the reign of Mary. In the ſecond year of Elizabeth, by his father's intereſt with the queen, he was appointed ambaſſador extraordinary, to compliment Charles IX. of France on his acceſſion to the throne of that kingdom; and this his firſt promotion was conſidered as a ſignal inſtance of the queen's favour, as he was then not quite twenty-three years of age. The next account we have of him is in the year 1569, when he was made general of the horſe, under the earl of Suſſex, warden of the northern marches, on occaſion of the inſurrection, headed by the earls of Weſtmoreland and Northumberland, in favour of Mary queen of Scots. In this ſervice he greatly ſignalized himſelf, and greatly contributed to the ſuppreſſion of the rebellion, having obliged the earl of Weſtmoreland to fly, and take refuge in Scotland, before the arrival of the earl of Warwick, who bringing a conſiderable reinforcement from the midland counties, to the aſſiſtance of the earl of Suſſex, lord Charles Howard, and Sir George Bowes, completed the victory over the rebels, which they had partly accompliſhed.

In 1570, the command of a fleet of ten ſhips of the line was given to lord Charles Howard, with inſtructions to receive the Imperial and Spaniſh fleets, which were to convoy the emperor's ſiſter, Anne of Auſtria, to the coaſt of Spain, at their entrance into, and to eſcort them through the Britiſh channel. Upon this occaſion, our gallant commander bravely maintained the privileges of the Britiſh flag, by obliging the fleets, conſiſt-

ing of one hundred and fifty ſail, to pay him the compliment of ſtriking their colours in the Engliſh ſeas: after which he obeyed his inſtructions, and ſhewed every mark of honour and courteſy to the princeſs and her attendants. The following year, he was choſen knight of the ſhire for the county of Surry, but he did not ſit long in the houſe of commons, for in 1572, his father dying, he ſucceeded to the title, and took his ſeat in the houſe of peers; and from this time, the queen conſtantly honoured him with her royal favour, and by degrees raiſed him to the higheſt and moſt honourable employments in the government. Soon after his father's death her majeſty made him lord chamberlain of the houſehold, and in 1573, he was inſtalled a knight of the moſt noble order of the garter. From this period to the year 1585, lord Effingham led the life of a courtier, and enjoyed not only the ſmiles of his royal miſtreſs, but the affections of the people, by whom he was greatly eſteemed for his affability, hoſpitality, and other ſocial virtues. It therefore gave the nation entire ſatisfaction, and more eſpecially the ſeamen, when upon the death of the earl of Lincoln, in the courſe of that year, lord Effingham was conſtituted lord high admiral of England.

This very extenſive department required a man of great abilities and cool judgment, nor could he have ſucceeded to it at a time when the exertion of ſuch talents was more wanted; for Philip II. of Spain was now meditating his grand deſign of ſubverting the Proteſtant religion in Europe, as the firſt ſtep to which, England was to be invaded and conquered, in reſentment for the aſſiſtance queen Elizabeth had given to the United Provinces, after the revolt from the Spaniſh government. The immenſe preparations for this important enterpriſe, had been carried on with the utmoſt precaution and ſecrecy, but they could not eſcape the notice of the vigilant Walſingham, who as early as the year 1584, had diſcovered the baſe plots of the king

king of Spain, and the duke of Guiſe, againſt the perſon of the queen, which were to facilitate the conqueſt of the kingdom. But ſoon after ſhe had appointed lord Effingham to be lord high admiral, the deſigns of the Spaniſh court were openly avowed; and the election of a Proteſtant princeſs to fill the throne of England, being deemed in the Popiſh countries null and void, the Jeſuits encouraged Philip II. boldly to aſſert a claim to the Imperial crown of England, derived by genealogical deſcent from John of Ghent, duke of Lancaſter, the fourth ſon of Edward III. No bar to his title remained in the Popiſh account, Elizabeth having been depoſed by the bulls of pope Pius V. and Gregory XIII. except the nearer affinity to the royal blood, of Mary queen of Scots, who was eaſily perſuaded formally to aſſign over her right to the crown of England in favour of the king of Spain, as the only means of reſtoring Popery in this nation. The whole project being brought to light, by means of a letter from the king of Spain to pope Gregory XIII. a copy of which was obtained by a Venetian prieſt, who tranſmitted it to Walſingham, the lord high admiral ſent Sir Francis Drake to Cadiz, to interrupt and retard the preparations, which ſervice he performed in the manner mentioned in his life. In the mean time, the lord high admiral was aſſiduous in augmenting the royal navy, which, only ten years before this æra, was in ſo low a ſtate, that it conſiſted of no more than 24 ſhips, the largeſt of which was of the burthen of 100 tons, and the ſmalleſt under 60. In 1585, it had only received the addition of three ſhips, and the total number of ſeamen fit to be employed in the ſervice of the crown, amounted to no more than 14,295 effective men. On this emergency, therefore, it was neceſſary to adopt the moſt vigorous meaſures, and, owing to the wiſe regulations of the lord admiral, whoſe popularity daily increaſed, the queen ſoon ſaw herſelf in poſſeſſion of a formidable naval armament,

mament. Every commercial town in England was required to furniſh a certain number of ſhips ſpecified by the lord admiral, and proportioned to their abilities; but the zeal of the queen's ſubjects, in moſt parts, exceeded the ſtipulated demand; the city of London, in particular, fitting out double the number required as its quota. The principal nobility and gentry likewiſe formed aſſociations in all parts of the kingdom, and produced forty-three ſhips completely armed, manned and victualled, ready to put to ſea.

In the lives of ſecretary Walſingham, and admiral Drake, we have amply related, by what means the king of Spain was diſabled from carrying his grand deſign into execution, till the year 1588, though it had been in agitation upwards of three years. However, all impediments being got over, the Spaniſh fleet, proudly called, The INVINCIBLE ARMADA, ſet ſail from the port of Liſbon, on the third of June, 1588, but was forced back by a violent ſtorm, and obliged to take ſhelter at the Groyne, which had been the ſtation of general rendezvous for the different ſquadrons, as they were fitted out. The whole fleet conſiſted of 92 galleons, or large ſhips of the line; 4 galliaſſes; 30 frigates; 30 tranſports with cavalry, and 4 gallies.

The force on board conſiſted of 19,290 regular troops, 8350 mariners, and 2080 galley ſlaves, provided with 2630 pieces of ordinance. This formidable armament, which exceeded every thing that had been known in modern times, was under the command of the Duke de Medina Sidonia, admiral in chief; Don Juan Martinez de Ricaldo, a naval officer of great abilities, and an experienced mariner, was vice-admiral, and almoſt every noble family in Spain, had ſome relation embarked as a volunteer on this expedition. But ſtill farther to enſure ſucceſs, Philip ordered the duke of Parma to provide tranſports to carry over an army of 25,000 men from the Netherlands to England. The duke punctually obeyed theſe orders, and quartered his

his army in the neighbourhood of Gravelines, Dunkirk and Nieuport. Dunkirk has been from time immemorial, an aſylum for fugitives from England, who ſullied with crimes of various dyes are permitted to find ſecurity for their perſons, and to carry on a deſpicable kind of commerce for their ſupport. Here the duke of Parma picked up 700 deſperadoes, chiefly Iriſh and Scotch Papiſts, who enliſted under his banners, to conquer England.

To oppoſe this mighty armament, the lord high admiral of England ſailed with a ſtrong ſquadron to the Weſt, where he was joined by the vice-admiral Sir Francis Drake; and lord Henry Seymour, ſecond ſon to the duke of Somerſet, with another ſquadron, cruiſed along the coaſt of Flanders, to prevent the embarkation of the troops under the duke of Parma. The preparations made by land have been mentioned in the life of the earl of Leiceſter. We ſhall, therefore, only give an account in this place of the operations of the fleet.

About the 12th of July, the Spaniſh Armada ſet ſail a ſecond time for England, and after a tempeſtuous paſſage, they appeared on the 19th off the weſtern ſhore, and ſpread a general alarm and conſternation all along the coaſts, which was greatly increaſed by obſerving, that moſt of the Spaniſh galleons were of ſuch an enormous ſize, that they ſeemed like floating caſtles in compariſon to the Engliſh, and their upper works were almoſt cannon-proof, being three feet thick. The firſt deſign meditated by the Spaniſh admiral, was to attempt burning the Engliſh fleet in their harbours; for he had no idea, that they would venture to put to ſea, to face his *Invinſible Armada*; but being diſcovered off the Lizard, by one Fleming, a Scotch pirate, this man crowded all the ſail of his light pinnace, and bore away for Plymouth, the ſtation of the Engliſh admiral, and the rendezvous of the different ſquadrons now out on cruizes to watch the motions

motions of the Spaniards. Fleming arrived in time to enable the lord admiral to take what meaſures he thought proper, without being ſurprized by the enemy. Lord Effingham hereupon reſolved, to get the ſhips under his command out of the harbour without loſs of time; and to encourage the ſailors, he worked himſelf, and perſonally gave orders to the other officers; which ſo encouraged the men, that on the morning of the 20th of July, he got clear of the port, and deſcried the Spaniſh fleet, which muſt have been a moſt formidable appearance, and have appalled any other but his brave ſeamen; for he had but thirty ſail of the line with him. Our admiral ſuffered them to paſs without ſeeming to take any notice of them, that having the advantage of the wind, he might bear down upon their rear and attack them. They moved very ſlowly along, though with all their ſail out, being extremely heavy and unwieldy, ſo that ſcarcely one of them anſwered to the helm. A circumſtance greatly in favour of the Engliſh admiral, who with his light veſſels, if he had been worſted in his attempt upon the Spaniſh rear, could have retreated with eaſe, and it would have been impoſſible to have purſued him with theſe heavy ſhips. Lord Effingham, however, took care to ſend a ſpecial meſſenger to the queen, to inform her majeſty of the arrival of the enemy, of the ſuperiority of their fleet, and of his deſign, notwithſtanding this diſadvantage, to fall upon their rear; and likewiſe to deſire her to make the proper diſpoſitions by land, in caſe the Spaniards ſhould ſucceed ſo far as to ſet their troops on ſhore; and to give orders for all the other ſquadrons and ſhips in her majeſty's ſervice, to join him with all poſſible expedition. Having taken theſe prudent precautions, the lord-admiral reſolved to make a vigorous attack on the enemy, with a view of preparing for a general engagement, and to take off the terror which the ſight of the large Spaniſh galleons had impreſſed on the minds of the Engliſh ſeamen.

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He therefore gave chace to this formidable fleet, and ſoon fell in with the rear diviſion, commanded by Don Ricaldo. A ſkirmiſh enſued, in which the Engliſh had the advantage; and it fully anſwered our admiral's purpoſe, who perceiving that the Spaniſh admiral in the center, and Don Alphonſo de Levya commander of the van, were endeavouring to encircle his little fleet, he made a ſignal for a retreat, which was ſoon made in excellent order; and this trial convinced both his officers and his men, how eaſily they could manage their own ſhips, and either attack or retire from the heavy floating caſtles of the enemy.

The Spaniards being greatly worſted in ſeveral attacks, and finding the Engliſh fleet more numerous and powerful, than it had been repreſented, on a ſudden tacked about, and made for the coaſt of Calais. The lord-admiral then called a council of war, and after conferring the honour of knighthood on vice-admiral Drake, Hawkins, Frobiſher, and three other principal officers, he propoſed to purſue the Spaniſh fleet; and he was farther induced to adviſe this meaſure, by the project of being joined by the ſquadrons under lord Henry Seymour, and Sir William Winter, ſtationed off the Flemiſh coaſt. The council concurring in opinion with the lord-admiral, the Engliſh fleet gave chace to the Spaniards; and on the 27th, the other ſquadrons joined them, in the Streights of Calais; and then their whole force conſiſted of one hundred and forty ſail. Yet ſtill it was inferior to the Armada, which now lay at anchor off Calais, and diſpoſed in ſuch order, that lord Effingham ſaw there were no hopes of ſeparating the fleet, and attacking different diviſions as he had propoſed; unleſs ſome ſtratagem could be deviſed to throw the whole fleet into diſorder. His great capacity, however, ſupplied him with the happieſt expedient for this purpoſe. He converted eight of his worſt barks into fire ſhips, and theſe, under the conduct of two experienced captains, were convoyed about

about midnight to the Spaniſh fleet, and being properly filled with combuſtibles, and their ſails ſet, they were fired by the crews of the two ſhips that conveyed them, who then took to their boats. Theſe barks went into the center of the Spaniſh fleet, and threw the whole into the utmoſt diſmay and confuſion. Some fell foul of each other, after cutting their cables, others got up their anchors, and put to ſea to avoid the flames, which had caught the rigging of ſeveral ſhips; and ſoon as the dawn appeared, the Engliſh fell upon them in this deſperate ſtate, and took or deſtroyed twelve of the largeſt ſhips. This was the firſt introduction of the uſe of fire-ſhips in the Engliſh navy. The Spaniards now laying aſide the thoughts of invaſion and conqueſt, endeavoured to make their eſcape through the Streights of Dover, but adverſe winds drove them on the coaſt of Zealand, where the Spaniſh admiral narrowly eſcaped ſhipwreck. After this, a council of war was held, and it was determined to retreat entirely, by ſailing round the north-part of our iſland; but here, a ſecond ſtorm diſperſed them, and the admiral with twenty-five ſail, ſteered his courſe for the Bay of Biſcay, leaving the reſt of his Invinſible Armda to the violence of the tempeſt, and the mercy of the Engliſh. Upwards of thirty of their beſt ſhips periſhed on the Iriſh coaſt, others were driven on ſhore in the Orkney Iſlands, and ſeveral were taken by thoſe brave admirals Hawkins, Drake, and Frobiſher. In fine, out of the whole fleet, conſiſting of one hundred and thirty ſail, only fifty-four got ſafe to Spain, and thoſe in a ſhattered condition. It is likewiſe computed, that they loſt 25,000 men in this fatal expedition, among whom were ſo many volunteers of diſtinguiſhed rank, that moſt of the noble families in Spain went into mourning after the return of the remains of the fleet. As for the Engliſh admiral, after he had cleared the channel of the Spaniards, he returned triumphant to the Downs; and then repairing to

London,

London, joined in the joyful acclamations and thankſgivings of the whole nation upon this great deliverance from impending deſtruction. The queen repaired publicly to the cathedral of St Paul, and there, with great ſolemnity and devotion, expreſſed her gratitude to God, for his great mercy in reſcuing her from the manifold ſecret plots and open violence of her enemies. Soon after, ſhe ordered two medals to be ſtruck in commemoration of this ſignal victory; and as the inventing genius, cool judgment, and active valour of the lord high-admiral, had greatly contributed to the ſucceſs of the Engliſh, her majeſty acknowledged his ſignal merit in the moſt honourable manner for him before the whole court, and rewarded him with a penſion for life. Fleming, the pirate, was pardoned at his interceſſion; and an annual gratification was allowed him for the intelligence he had given to the lord-admiral of the arrival of the Spaniſh fleet.

The next important ſervice performed by the lord-admiral was againſt Cadiz, which was taken by the Engliſh fleet and the land-forces under the earl of Eſſex in 1596, to the incredible loſs of Spain; for beſides two rich galleons, thirteen men of war, and one hundred pieces of braſs cannon, fell into the hands of the Engliſh; and the lord-admiral refuſed a ranſom of two millions of ducats for the merchant ſhips of Port-Real, his inſtructions being to burn them, becauſe a ſecond invaſion of England had been meditated.

Upon lord Effingham's return, the queen, who had been generally partial to the earl of Eſſex, attributed the conqueſt of Cadiz chiefly to the admiral: in honour of the glorious expedition, ſhe created him earl of Nottingham; and in the patent, the reaſon for conferring this new dignity, was his ſignal ſervices in the taking of Cadiz. This gave birth to the quarrel between the admiral and Eſſex, which ended only with the death of the latter.

In 1599, the nation was alarmed with another projected invaſion from Spain; and Eſſex being in Ireland, the queen, to manifeſt her intire confidence in the earl of Nottingham, made him ſole commander of her fleets and armies, with the addition of a new title, that of lord lieutenant-general of all England; by which he was inveſted with more ample powers than had ever been granted to any ſubject: but this extraordinary commiſſion expired with the occaſion that gave birth to it. The dread of an invaſion ſubſiding in ſix weeks, the earl of Nottingham reſigned it into the queen's hands: however, he became her chief miniſter ſoon after, and by the death of the earl of Eſſex, ſole adminiſtrator of the government. But, in order to ſecure this high ſtation, it is ſtrongly ſuſpected, that the earl of Nottingham aggravated every act of raſhneſs committed by the earl of Eſſex, and fomented the quarrel between that unhappy nobleman and his royal miſtreſs, till by the unkindneſs of the one, the other was driven to deſperation and rebellion.

From the moment that Eſſex ſurrendered to the earl of Nottingham, the queen, who had been uncommonly terrified by ſo daring an inſurrection in the heart of the capital, was extravagant in her praiſes of the lord-admiral. She ſaid publicly, that he was born to be the Saviour of his Country. Thus raiſed to the ſummit of a ſtateſman's ambition, we have too much reaſon to believe, that fearing a relapſe on the part of the queen, in favour of his great rival, he intercepted the token ſent from the unfortunate Eſſex as the laſt application for mercy.

On theſe well-grounded ſuſpicions, the earl ſtands accuſed of an act of cruel policy, which throws a baleful ſhade over the bright character of this Saviour of his Country, and even leaves a ſtain upon his loyalty; for a man of his abilities could not but be aware of the fatal conſequences to the queen, if this ſecret reached her royal ear.

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For many years after the event, the following remarkable anecdote was diſcredited by our beſt hiſtorians; but later diſcoveries, which have thrown more light upon the court intrigues in the laſt years of the reign of Elizabeth, have left little room to doubt the truth of it, as it is here related.

The earl of Eſſex, ſoon after his return from the ſucceſsful expedition againſt Cadiz, grew extremely jealous of being ſupplanted in the royal favour; and being confirmed in his apprehenſions by the new peerage conferred on the lord-admiral, he reſolved to ſecure himſelf againſt any fatal reverſe of fortune, while the queen's attachment to him remained. In this diſpoſition, having obtained a private audience, he took occaſion to regret, that her majeſty's ſervice ſhould ſo frequently oblige him to be abſent from her perſon; by which he was expoſed to all thoſe ill-offices which his enemies, in the courſe of their conſtant attendance on her, had it in their power to do him, by miſrepreſentations of his conduct, and falſe accuſations, while he was at a remote diſtance from court, perhaps not even in the kingdom. Her majeſty, it is ſaid, being greatly moved at his pathetic remonſtrance, took a ring from her finger, deſired him to keep it as a pledge of her affection, and aſſured him, that whatever prejudices ſhe might be induced to entertain againſt him, or whatever diſgrace he might happen to fall into, if he ſent her that ring, ſhe ſhould inſtantly call to mind her former affection for him, and grant him his requeſt, whatever it might be. The reader will be pleaſed to recollect that Henry VIII. had acted in the very ſame manner in the caſe of archbiſhop Cranmer; and he will farther obſerve, that in many inſtances Elizabeth affected to imitate the manners of her father. This is a circumſtance which has eſcaped the notice of our hiſtorians, in their warm conteſts upon the credibility of this ſtory, but is highly preſumptive of its authenticity. After ſentence of death had been paſſed

upon the unfortunate Eſſex, it is a well-known fact, that he requeſted the favour of a viſit from the counteſs of Nottingham, at that time principal lady of the bed-chamber to the queen: to what purpoſe, but to give her this ring, and to charge her to deliver it to her Majeſty, and to enforce his prayer for pardon, by her interceſſion? The counteſs was prevailed upon by her huſband to keep the ring, and to ſtifle the commiſſion ſhe had undertaken; and the queen, who hourly expected this laſt appeal from her fallen favourite, found various excuſes to delay ſigning the warrant for his execution, till female reſentment, at his ſuppoſed pride and obſtinacy, made her liſten to the political motives urged by Cecil, and ſhe conſented to his death.

Towards the cloſe of the year 1602, the counteſs of Nottingham was ſeized with her laſt illneſs, and finding her diſſolution faſt approaching, ſhe ſent a ſpecial meſſenger to intreat a private viſit from the queen, alleging, that ſhe had ſomething of importance to impart to her majeſty, which troubled her conſcience. The queen complying with her earneſt requeſt, as ſoon as the attendants withdrew, the counteſs revealed the fatal ſecret, and at the ſame time implored the queen's pardon; who, aſtoniſhed at the foul deed, burſt forward into a violent paſſion of rage, ſhook the dying counteſs in her bed, and exclaiming with great vehemence, "God may forgive you but I cannot," ſhe broke from her, and the counteſs expired ſoon after.

As for the diſtracted queen, a deep melancholy and inceſſant grief ſucceded to rage; and from this time her health viſibly declined: ſtill, however, ſhe affected to conceal it, and ſhe cauſed her inauguration-day, the 17th of November, to be obſerved with the uſual magnificence and rejoicings. But the courtiers, according to cuſtom, began already to pay their court to the riſing Sun, the young king of Scotland, her preſumptuous heir. This did not eſcape her notice, and

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ſhe was heard to lament, in bitter terms, that ſhe was neglected betrayed and deſerted. And, when ſhe found the very ſame miniſters adviſing her to ſign the pardon of the earl of Tyrone, who had urged her to put Eſſex to death, ſhe could not forbear making a juſt compariſon between the guilt of an arch-rebel, who had deſolated great part of Ireland, and the ſingle act of mad deſperation committed by Eſſex, for which theſe ſtateſmen had made her forget and cancel all his great ſervices to her and his country. Her grief, upon this occaſion, could not be concealed; and as if ſhe had been determined not to out-live the diſgrace of being duped by her ſervants, ſhe now neglected the care of her health, removing from Weſtminſter to her palace of Non-Such at Sheene, in very tempeſtuous weather, on the laſt day of January, 1603. Here ſhe daily grew worſe; and the privy-council ſat in London, deliberating on the meaſures for ſecuring the peaceable ſucceſſion of James I. With this view, they thought it moſt adviſeable, that the queen, in her life-time, ſhould abſolutely nominate him to ſucceed her; and though the earl of Nottingham and Sir Robert Cecil knew how painful this taſk would be to her, and that in fact it was by no means neceſſary, the whole council being of one mind; yet, together with the lord-keeper Buckhurſt, undertook the diſagreeable office. The queen, before ſhe left Weſtminſter, had declared to the lord-admiral, now likewiſe earl-marſhal of England, that the crown ought to go to the next heir. But the jealous Scots, and the Engliſh miniſters, who wiſhed to ſtand high in favour with James, did not think this declaration ſufficient. The three deputies from the council found the queen almoſt ſpeechleſs; but ſhe had ſtrength enough to repeat the meaning of her former declaration to the lord-admiral. "I have filled," ſaid ſhe, "a royal throne, and I deſire to have a royal ſucceſſor." The Stuart party, not yet ſatisfied, wrote to Sir Robert Cecil, to preſs the dying queen to be more

more explicit. Being therefore importuned again on the ſame ſubject, ſhe ſeemed to reſent it; and, with tokens of vexation, ſhe uttered theſe her laſt words upon this ſubject: "I deſire that a king ſhould ſucceed me; and who ſhould that king be, but my neareſt kinſman, the king of Scotland?" Her majeſty continued languiſhing, in a moſt deplorable condition, near two months, and for ten days together ſhe ſat up dreſſed, upon cuſhions and carpets, and would not be put to bed till ſhe was compelled, and after this refreſhment ſhe ſeemed eaſier, but continued to lay on her ſide without ſpeaking or taking notice of any of her attendants. At times, ſhe would however join in prayers with Whitgift, archbiſhop of Canterbury, who was conſtantly in waiting. On the 23d of March ſhe was quite ſpeechleſs, but compoſed; and at night ſhe fell into a ſleep, which laſted five hours, when ſhe awaked only to breathe her laſt, ſeemingly with little pain or ſenſibility. Thus, in the 70th year of her age, and the 45th of her glorious reign, at about two in the morning of the 24th of March, 1603, was England deprived of a ſovereign, who raiſed the ſplendor of the Britiſh throne, and in whoſe reign was laid the foundation of the extenſive commerce of England in after ages.

The remaining memoirs of the earl of Nottingham hardly merit our notice. It may therefore ſuffice to obſerve, that his zeal in the affair of the ſucceſſion procured him the honour of officiating as high-ſteward at the coronation of James I. that he was ſent on a ſplendid embaſſy to Spain, to conclude a treaty of friendſhip with that crown, in which he had been very inſtrumental; that he reſigned his office of high-admiral, for a penſion, to Villiers duke of Buckingham, and retired into the country, where he died in 1624.

*** *Authorities.* Salmon's Chronol. Hiſtorian. Hume's Hiſtory of England. Birch's Negociations and Memoirs

Memoirs of the Reign of Elizabeth. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals.

SUPPLEMENT.

THE lives of the moſt eminent perſons, who were diſtinguiſhed chiefly by their public characters and the high ſtations they held under queen Elizabeth, are contained in the preceding pages. It remains now, therefore, to trace the progreſs of the human underſtanding in Britain, during, and for about twenty years after, this glorious æra of our hiſtory; the age of Elizabeth having given birth to a few celebrated men of uncommon genius, whoſe memoirs could not be blended with the civil hiſtory of the times. Beſides, ſome of them, though they flouriſhed under Elizabeth, ſurvived her many years: on which account, we have aſſigned them a diſtinct department, as not belonging entirely to the annals of either Elizabeth or James I.

So great was the attention of the people to the revival and extenſion of commerce, to the encouragement of navigation, and to the eſtabliſhment of manufactures in the kingdon (brought from foreign countries), that the mechanical and uſeful arts were greatly preferred to the polite and liberal in the reign of Elizabeth. We have therefore only to mention, that painting ſtill continued to be of foreign growth, though England produced two perſons who are noticed as men of ſome eminence, Nicholas Hilliard, a limner, jeweller and goldſmith, whoſe natural inclination for painting led him to copy after Holbein, while he was an apprentice as a jeweller and goldſmith. He confined himſelf chiefly to portraits, and was excellent in minature. This artiſt was born in 1547, and died in St Martin's in the Fields, 1619. Iſaac Oliver another miniature-painter, was his pupil, and the virtuoſi give his performances

formances the preference. He died in Blackfriars two years before his maſter.

Engraving, as a branch of the mechanic arts, met with great encouragement in the reign of Elizabeth, and by the indefatigable induſtry of the celebrated *Vertue* in our times, ſome capital performances, and a liſt of the artiſts of repute in this branch, have been reſtored; an account of which the reader will find at large in Mr Walpole's Anecdotes of Painting in England, Vol. II.

Muſic was likewiſe at a low ebb, though Elizabeth endeavoured to revive a taſte both for vocal and inſtrumental, ſetting the example by her own performances; but hiſtory and poetry received conſiderable improvements from the immortal pens of Buchanan, Spenſer, Shakeſpeare; of whom we ſhall give conciſe memoirs in chronological order.

THE LIFE OF

GEORGE BUCHANAN.

(A. D. 1506, to 1582.)

THIS celebrated hiſtorian, and Latin poet, was a native of Scotland, of whoſe family we have little or no account, except that his grandfather was a perſon concerned in trade, by whoſe failure his father and mother were reduced to diſtreſſed circumſtances. George Buchanan was born in the Shire of Lenox, in 1506; and his father dying while he was very young, the care of his education devolved on his mother, who was left almoſt unprovided for, with five ſons and three daughters. But by the kind aſſiſtance of her brother, Mr James Heriot, ſhe was enabled to ſend George to ſchool, where his inclination for learning recommended

commended him to the farther patronage and diſtinguiſhed attention of his uncle, at whoſe expence he was ſent to Paris, the univerſity in that city being then eſteemed the beſt in Europe. But the death of Mr Heriot, after he had been two years at Paris, depriving him of the means of purſuing his ſtudies, he was obliged to return to Scotland. It is obſerved, however, that if this alteration had not happened, his bad ſtate of health alone would have forced him to leave Paris.

About the year 1524, having a deſire to acquire ſome knowledge of military affairs, he made a campaign with the French auxiliaries, who came over to Scotland under the command of John duke of Albany, to aſſiſt in carrying on the war againſt England, the French and the Scots being in alliance againſt Henry VIII. But the fatigues he underwent were too much for his delicate conſtitution; and this martial experiment occaſioned him a ſevere fit of illneſs, which confined him to his bed during the enſuing winter.

In the ſpring, however, he was ſo well recovered, that he went to the univerſity of St Andrews to learn logic, under the famous Mr John Mair, with whom he went a ſecond time to Paris. There he embraced the tenets of Luther, which began to prevail in France about this time. After ſtruggling for near two years againſt the miſeries of indigent circumſtances, his great merit procured him admiſſion into the college of St Barbe, where he became profeſſor of grammar, which he taught near three years, and acquired by it a decent ſubſiſtence. At length, one of his pupils, Gilbert Kennedy, earl of Caſſils, a young Scotch nobleman, admiring the converſation, and eſteeming the literary abilities of his countryman, engaged him ſolely as his tutor and companion, and they remained five years in France, after which they returned together to Scotland. The death of the earl of Caſſils, in 1534, left Mr Buchanan once more without a patron: thus circumſtanced,

cumſtanced, he was preparing to return to France, when James V. ſent for him, and made him preceptor to his natural ſon, James Stuart, afterwards the famous earl of Murray, choſen regent of Scotland when queen Mary was depoſed. But his evil genius again interpoſed to thwart his fortune, for having written a ſatirical, but elegant Latin poem, intituled *Somnium*, in which the ignorance and lazineſs of the Franciſcan friars was ſeverely laſhed, the pious fraternity were ſo highly exaſperated, that they accuſed him of atheiſm and hereſy. This proof of their malice anſwered no other purpoſe, but to animate our young poet to freſh exertions of his vein for ſatire; and the irregular lives of the friars having furniſhed ſufficient grounds, he was highly pleaſed to find in his royal patron an encourager of his deſign. A conſpiracy againſt James V. was diſcovered at this time, and the Franciſcans were ſuſpected by the king to have been privy to it; upon which he commanded Buchanan to write a poem againſt them. It ſhould ſeem, however, as if the poet was apprehenſive of the conſequences to himſelf, of carrying matters too far, for he wrote a ſketch of his poem, ſuſceptible of a double interpretation. But the king, being diſpleaſed at this evaſion of his orders, poſitively enjoined him to laſh their vices, without diſguiſe or reſerve, which gave occaſion to the celebrated Latin poem of our author, intituled FRANCISCANUS. All the religious orders in Scotland now took the alarm, and vowed deſtruction to the man who had the inſolence to expoſe them to the ſcorn and deriſion of the laity; and though the king was highly pleaſed with the performance, he had the meanneſs to leave him to the mercy of the clergy. Buchanan received private intelligence, that the Franciſcans had a deſign upon his life, though of what nature his friends could not exactly inform him; but it ſoon appeared that they intended to have him burnt as a heretic; for being accuſed of this capital crime, he was arreſted and impriſoned

priſoned in the beginning of the year 1539. Fortunately, however, he watched his opportunity, and while his keepers were aſleep, got out of his chamber-window, and made his eſcape to England undiſcovered. There, finding that Henry VIII. had ſet on foot a bloody perſecution againſt both Papiſts and heretics, who did not conform to the ſix articles, he went to Paris, where he hoped to find an aſylum from the vengeance of his enemies; but unfortunately cardinal Beatoun, who was his great enemy, had been ſent on an embaſſy from Scotland to the court of France, and was juſt arrived. Buchanan, therefore, thought it moſt adviſeable to retire to Bourdeaux, having received an invitation from Andreas Govianus, a celebrated profeſſor of the civil law, who had been invited from his native country, Portugal, to preſide at the head of a college newly founded in that city. Here Buchanan taught the claſſics, rhetoric, hiſtory, and poetry, in the public ſchools, for his ſubſiſtance, near three years, and at his leiſure-hours he compoſed four tragedies, *Jeptha*, *Alceſtes*, *Baptiſta*, and a tranſlation of the *Medea* of *Euripides*. He wrote them in compliance with the rules of the ſchools, a new fable being required from the profeſſors every year; and inſtead of the trifling allegories uſually furniſhed upon theſe occaſions in the French univerſities, by which the taſte of their youth for rational entertainment had been vitiated, he introduced regular dramatic pieces, founded on hiſtorical facts, and thus engaged the ſtudents to imitate the ancients. Such an improvement as this could not eſcape the notice of the moſt eminent men in France, who highly approved it, and Buchanan's reputation was circulated throughout the whole kingdom, to the no ſmall mortification of the haughty cardinal Beatoun, who wrote to the archbiſhop of Bourdeaux, informing him, that Buchanan was a profeſſed heretic, and requeſting that he might be apprehended. But the cardinal's letters falling into

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the hands of his friends, he was delivered from this ſnare; and his patron, Andreas Govianus, being ſoon after ordered home by the king of Portugal, and commanded to bring with him ſome learned men capable of teaching philoſophy and claſſical learning in the univerſity he had juſt founded at Coimbra, Buchanan embraced this opportunity of avoiding the meditated vengeance of Beatoun and his clergy.

While Govianus lived, Buchanan and the other learned men, who had followed him to Portugal, met with all ſuitable encouragement; but after his death, the natural averſion of the Portugueſe to foreigners overcame their deſire of improvement, and theſe profeſſors were extremely ill-uſed. Our author's poem againſt the Franciſcans, his eating meat in Lent, and his having advanced, in private converſation with ſome Portugueſe youth, that he thought St Auſtin's doctrines were more favourable to the reformed, than to the Romiſh religion, were made the grounds of an accuſation of hereſy; in conſequence of which, he was ſeized and thrown into the priſon of the inquiſition in the year 1549; but the hopes of converting a man of his great reputation in the learned world procured him the indulgence of a removal to a monaſtery, to be inſtructed in the myſteries of the holy Roman Catholic faith by the monks, who, by his own account, treated him with great civility. It was during this confinement that he tranſlated the Pſalms of David into elegant Latin verſe.

In 1551, by the intereſt of ſome of his pupils of diſtinction, the king ordered, that he ſhould be ſet at liberty; and to indemnify him for his impriſonment, he now ſupplied him liberally with money for his current expences, and promiſed him preferment. But Buchanan, having no opinion of Portugueſe faith, and having already experienced their treachery, obtained a paſſport to return to England, and embarked on board a ſhip then in the harbour of Liſbon, taking in

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a cargo for London. The confuſion that prevailed in the councils of Edward VI. during his minority, did not ſeem to promiſe any great encouragement to literature: Buchanan therefore returned again to France in 1552. Our author was now famous all over Europe for his great learning, but more particularly for the elegance and correctneſs of his Latin poetry, a ſpecimen of which he had preſented to the renowned Charles V. emperor of Germany, in a ſmall complimentary poem, while he reſided at Bourdeaux; and copies of it had been diſperſed in Spain and Germany by order of his Imperial Majeſty. The principal nobility of France, therefore thought it an honour to protect and encourage him upon his return to Paris; and this gave him an opportunity of publiſhing his tragedy of Jephtha in the moſt advantageous manner; Charles de Coſſi, marſhal of France, permitting him the honour to dedicate it to him. Buchanan, in return, made ſo juſt an eulogium on the character of that great man, that the marſhal, highly pleaſed with this well-judged compliment, gave him an invitation to ſettle in Piedmont, with genteel appointments, in quality of preceptor to his ſon. Buchanan accepted the offer, and paſſed five years very agreeably with this youth, employing the hours of receſs from his charge in the ſtudy of the Scriptures and polemical authors, with a view of forming his own opinion on the controverſies which at this time involved all Europe in religious feuds.

He returned to Scotland about the year 1560, and finding the Reformation in a manner eſtabliſhed there, he openly renounced the Romiſh religion, and declared himſelf a Proteſtant. He was ſhortly after made principal of St Leonard's college, in the univerſity of St Andrew's, where he for ſome years taught philoſophy; and at his leiſure hours he collected together all his poems, excepting ſuch of them as were in the hands of his friends, and of which he had no copies. In 1567 he was, though a layman, appointed mode-

rator of the general aſſembly of the church of Scotland. He was alſo appointed, by the ſtates of the kingdom, preceptor to the young king, James VI. afterwards king of Great Britain. That prince was accordingly ſome years under his tuition; and it is ſaid, that when it was afterwards obſerved to him that he had made his majeſty a pedant, he replied, "that it was the beſt he could make of him." When the civil diſſenſions broke forth between queen Mary and her ſubjects, he joined the party in oppoſition to the queen, and became a favourite of the earl of Murray, choſen regent of Scotland, by whoſe order he wrote a piece, intituled *The Detection*, containing very ſevere reflections on the character and conduct of Mary; for which his memory had been aſperſed, as a writer, by all Popiſh hiſtorians, and by thoſe who have undertaken the more than Herculean labour of endeavouring to exculpate that weak and vicious woman.

In 1568, Buchanan was choſen one of the commiſſioners, who were ſent to England to accuſe queen Mary of the heinous crime of being privy to the murder of her huſband lord Darnley; and upon his return, he had the revenues of the abbey of Croſs Raguel aſſigned to him for life. He was alſo made director of the chancery; one of the lords of the council; and finally, lord privy-ſeal. Beſides all theſe promotions and emoluments, it is ſaid, that queen Elizabeth allowed him a penſion of one hundred pounds yearly.

This ſeems not probable; but ſhe appears occaſionally to have made him preſents. He employed the remaining thirteen years of his life chiefly in literary purſuits; and from the time he was firſt employed in the public ſervice of his country, he directed his ſtudies to thoſe important ſubjects, politics and hiſtory. His two laſt performances of this kind, were his celebrated tract, *De Jure Regni apud Scotos*, and his Hiſtory of Scotland; both of them by impartial judges are eſteemed as maſterly productions; but, favouring the principles of

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democratic government, they were both condemned by the ſtates, and on the publication of the hiſtory, the author was cited to appear before the lords of the privy-council, to be reſponſible for ſome bold political truths, ſaid to be of a dangerous tendency; but he died before the day appointed for his appearance. The king was likewiſe highly incenſed at ſome paſſages which were unfavourable to the royal prerogative: and this being told to Buchanan during his illneſs, he ſaid, with the cool indifference of a ſtoic philoſopher, "that his majeſty's anger gave him little or no concern, as he was ſhortly going to a place where there were few kings."

We are told likewiſe, that a ſhort time before he expired, he called for his ſervant, enquired how much money he had belonging to him; and finding it inſufficient for his burial, he ordered him to diſtribute it among the poor. Upon which the ſervant deſired to know, who, in that caſe, would defray the expence of his funeral. To this Buchanan replied, "That he was very indifferent about that; for if he were once dead, if they would not bury him, they might let him lie where he was, or throw his corpſe where they pleaſed." And perſiſting in his reſolution, the magiſtracy of Edinburgh were obliged to bury him at the public expence.

His death happened on the 5th of September, 1582, when he was in the 76th year of his age.

Biſhop Burnet ſays of the writings of Buchanan, that there appears in them, "not only all the beauty and graces of the Latin tongue, but a vigour of mind, and quickneſs of thought, far beyond Bembo, or the other Italians, who, at that time affected to revive the purity of the Roman ſtyle. It was but a feeble imitation of Tully in them; but his ſtyle is ſo natural and nervous, and his reflexions on things ſo ſolid (beſides his immortal poems, in which he ſhews how well he could imitate all the Roman poets, in their ſeveral ways of

writing, that he who compares them will be often tempted to compare the copy with the original,) that he is juſtly reckoned the greateſt and beſt of our modern authors."

Thuanus ſays, that "Buchanan, being old, began to write the hiſtory of his own country; and although, according to the genius of his nation, he ſometimes inveighs againſt crowned heads with ſeverity, yet that work is written with ſo much purity, wit, and judgement, that it does not appear to be the production of a man who paſſed all his days in the duſt of a ſchool, but of one who has been all his life-time converſant in the moſt important affairs of ſtate. Such was the greatneſs of his mind, and the felicity of his genius, that the meanneſs of his condition and fortune has not hindered Buchanan from judging rightly of things of the greateſt moment, or from writing concerning them with a great deal of judgment."

Dr Robertſon remarks, that "the happy genius of Buchanan, equally formed to excel in proſe and in verſe, more various, more original, and more elegant, than that of almoſt any other modern, who has written in Latin, reflects, with regard to this particular, the greateſt luſtre on his country." With reſpect to his hiſtory, the doctor obſerves, "if his accuracy and impartiality had been, in any degree, equal to the elegance of his taſte, and to the purity and vigour of his ſtyle, his hiſtory might be placed on a level with the moſt admired compoſitions of the ancients. But, inſtead of rejecting the improbable tales of chronicle writers, he was at the utmoſt pains to adorn them, and hath cloathed with all the beauties and graces of fiction thoſe legends which formerly had only its wildneſs and extravagance."

Moſt of Buchanan's pieces have paſſed through many editions ſeparately: but a compleat edition of his works was publiſhed at Edinburgh, in two volumes, folio, in 1704, and which was reprinted in 1715.

Author

*** *Authorities.* Georgii Buchanani Vita, ab ipſo ſcripta biennio ante mortem, et Poematibus præfixa. Sir James Melvil's Memoirs, Lond. edit. 1752. Mackenzie's Lives and Characters of Scotch Writers. Dr Robertſon's Hiſtory of Scotland.

THE LIFE OF

EDMUND SPENSER.

[A. D. 1572, to 1598.]

EDMUND SPENSER, was born in London, and educated at Pembroke-hall in Cambridge, where he took the degree of batchelor of arts in 1572, and of maſter of arts in 1576. The accounts of the birth and family of this great man are but obſcure and imperfect, and at his firſt ſetting out into life, his fortune and intereſt ſeem to have been very inconſiderable. After he had continued ſome time at college, and had laid that foundation of learning, which, joined to his natural genius, qualified him to riſe to ſo great reputation as a poet, he ſtood for a fellowſhip, in competition with a gentleman in holy orders, in which he was unſucceſsful. This diſappointment, joined with the narrowneſs of his circumſtances, forced him to quit the univerſity; and we find him next reſiding at the houſe of a friend in the north, where he fell in love with his Roſalind, whom he finely celebrates in his paſtoral poems, and of whoſe cruelty he hath written ſuch pathetic complaints. It is probable, that about this time, Spenſer's genius began firſt to diſtinguiſh itſelf; for The Shepherd's Calendar, which is ſo full of his unproſperous paſſion for Roſalind, was amongſt the the firſt of his works of note; and the ſuppoſition is

ſtrengthened by the conſideration of poetry being frequently the offspring of love and retirement. This work he addreſſed, by a ſhort dedication, to the Mecænas of his age, the immortal Sir Philip Sidney, a gentleman then in the higheſt reputation, who for wit and gallantry was the moſt popular of all the courtiers of his age; and, as he was himſelf a writer, excelling in the fabulous or inventive part of poetry, it is no wonder that he was ſtruck with our author's genius, and became ſenſible of his merit. A ſtory is told of him by Mr Hughes, which does great honour to the humanity and penetration of Sidney, and to the excellent genius of Spenſer. It is ſaid that our poet was a ſtranger to this gentleman, when he began to write his Fairy Queen, and that he took occaſion to go to Leiceſter-houſe, and introduce himſelf, by ſending in to him a copy of the ninth canto of the firſt book of that poem. Sidney was much ſurpriſed with the deſcription of deſpair in that canto, and is ſaid to have ſhewn an unuſual kind of tranſport on the diſcovery of ſo new and uncommon a genius. After he had read ſome ſtanzas, he turned to his ſteward, and bid him give the perſon who brought theſe verſes fifty pounds; but, upon reading the next ſtanza, he ordered the ſum to be doubled. The ſteward was no leſs ſurpriſed than his maſter, and thought it his duty to make ſome delay in executing ſo ſudden and laviſh a bounty; but upon reading one ſtanza more, Sidney raiſed the gratuity to two hundred pounds, and commanded the ſteward to give it immediately, leſt as he read further he might be tempted to give away his whole eſtate. From this time he admitted the author to his acquaintance and converſation, and prepared the way for his being known and received at court. Though this ſeemed a promiſing omen, to be thus introduced to court, yet he did not inſtantly reap any advantage from it. He was indeed created poet laureat to queen Elizabeth, but he for ſome time wore a barren laurel, and poſſeſſed the

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place without the penſion. Lord-treaſurer Burleigh, who conſidered the mechanic and uſeful arts as more important in a riſing commercial ſtate, than the polite, is accuſed of intercepting the queen's favours to this unhappy, great genius. As misfortunes have the ſtrongeſt influence on elegant and poliſhed minds, ſo it was no wonder that Spenſer was much depreſſed by the cold reception he met with from the great.

Theſe diſcouragements greatly ſunk our author's ſpirits; and accordingly we find him pouring out his heart in complaints of ſo injurious and undeſerved a treatment, which, probably, would have been leſs unfortunate to him, if his noble patron, Sir Philip Sidney, by his employments abroad, and the ſhare he had in the Low-Country wars, had not been obliged to be frequently, and for a long time together, abſent from court. In a poem, called the Ruins of Time, which was written ſome time after Sidney's death, the author ſeems to allude to the diſcouragements juſt mentioned, in the following ſtanza:

"O grief of griefs, O gall of all good hearts!
To ſee that virtue ſhould deſpiſed be,
Of ſuch as firſt were raiſed for virtue's parts,
And now broad-ſpreading, like an aged tree,
Let none ſhoot up that nigh them planted be;
O let not thoſe, of whom the muſe is ſcorned,
Alive, or dead, be by the muſe adorned."

Theſe lines are certainly meant to reflect on Burleigh for neglecting him; and the lord-treaſurer afterwards conceived an hatred againſt him, for the ſatire which he apprehended was levelled at him, in Mother Hubbard's Tale. In this poem, the author has, in the moſt lively manner, pointed out the misfortune of depending on court-favours, in the following beautiful lines:

"Full

"Full little knoweſt thou, that haſt not try'd,
What hell it is in ſuing long to bide,
To loſe good days, that might be better ſpent,
To waſte long nights in penſive diſcontent;
To ſpeed to-day, to be put back to-morrow,
To feed in hope, to pine with fear and ſorrow;
To have thy prince's grace, yet want her peers,
To have thy aſking, yet wait many years,
To fret thy ſoul with croſſes, and with care,
To eat thy heart, through comfortleſs deſpair;
To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to run,
To ſpend, to give, to want, to be undone."

As this was very much the author's caſe, it probably was this particular paſſage in that poem which gave offence; for, as Hughes very elegantly obſerves, even the ſighs of a miſerable man are ſometimes reſented as an affront, by him who is the occaſion of them. There is a ſtory related by ſome as a matter of fact commonly reported at that time, which reflects upon the character of Burleigh; but it is diſcredited by Dr Birch, and other judicious hiſtorians and critics, becauſe the ſame circumſtances are recorded to have happened to a poet of inferior merit, and the poetical petition here given as Spenſer's compoſition is aſcribed to the inferior bard.

It is ſaid, that upon his preſenting ſome poems to the queen, ſhe ordered him a gratuity of one hundred pounds; but the lord-treaſurer Burleigh objecting to it, ſaid, with ſome ſcorn of the poet, of whoſe merit he was totally ignorant, "What, all this for a ſong?" The queen replied, "Then give him what is reaſon." Spenſer for ſome time waited, but had the mortification to find himſelf diſappointed of her majeſty's bounty. Upon this he took an opportunity to preſent a paper to queen Elizabeth, in the manner of a petition, in which he reminded her of the order ſhe had given, in the following lines:

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"I was promis'd on a time
To have reaſon for my rhyme,
From that time, unto this ſeaſon,
I receiv'd nor rhyme, nor reaſon."

This paper, we are told, produced the intended effect, and the queen, after ſharply reproving the treaſurer, immediately directed the payment of the hundred pounds ſhe had firſt ordered. In the year 1579, he was ſent abroad by the earl of Leiceſter, as appears by a copy of Latin verſes, dated from Leiceſter-houſe, and addreſſed to his friend Mr Hervey; but Mr Hughes has not been able to determine in what ſervice he was employed.

When the lord Grey of Wilton was choſen deputy of Ireland, Spenſer was recommended to be his ſecretary. This drew him over to another kingdom, and ſettled him in a ſcene of life very different from what he had formerly known, but, that he underſtood and diſcharged his employment with ſkill and capacity, appears ſufficiently by his diſcourſe on the ſtate of Ireland, in which there are many ſolid and judicious remarks, that ſhew him no leſs qualified for the buſineſs of the ſtate, than for the entertainment of the muſes. His life was now freed from the difficulties under which it had hitherto ſtruggled; but the lord Grey being recalled in 1582, Spenſer returned with him to England, where he ſeems to have continued till the untimely death of his gallant patron Sir Philip Sidney, in 1587; with which cataſtrophe he was deeply affected. His ſervices to the crown, in his ſtation of ſecretary to the lord-deputy, were recompenſed by a grant from queen Elizabeth of three thouſand acres of land in the county of Cork. This induced him to reſide in Ireland. His houſe was at Kilcolman; and the river Mulla, which he has, more than once, ſo finely introduced in his poems, ran through his grounds. Much about this time he contracted an intimate friendſhip with

with the great and learned Sir Walter Raleigh, who was then a captain under the lord Grey. His elegant poem, called, Colin Clout's come Home again, in which Sir Walter Raleigh is diſcribed under the name of the Shepherd of the Ocean, is a beautiful memorial of this friendſhip, which took its riſe from a ſimilarity of taſte in the polite arts, and which he agreeably deſcribes, with a ſoftneſs and delicacy peculiar to him. Sir Walter afterwards fixed him in the eſteem of queen Elizabeth, through whoſe recommendations her Majeſty read his writings.

He now fell in love a ſecond-time with a merchant's daughter, in which, ſays Mrs Cooper, author of The Muſe's Library, he was more ſucceſsful than in his firſt amour. He wrote upon this occaſion a beautiful epithalamium, which he preſented to the lady on the bridal-day, and it has conſigned that day and her to immortality. In this pleaſant, eaſy, ſituation, our excellent poet finiſhed the celebrated poem of The Fairy Queen, which was begun and continued at different intervals of time, and of which he at firſt publiſhed only the three firſt books. To theſe were added three more, in a following edition, but the ſix laſt books (excepting the two cantos on mutability) were unfortunately loſt by his ſervant, whom he had in haſte ſent before him to England; for though he paſſed his life for ſome time very ſerenely here, yet a train of misfortunes ſtill purſued him, and in the rebellion of the earl of Deſmond, he was plundered and deprived of his eſtate. This diſtreſs forced him to return to England, where, for want of ſuch a noble patron as Sir Philip Sidney, he was plunged into new calamities. It is ſaid by Mr Hughes, that Spenſer ſurvived his patron about twelve years, and died the ſame year with his powerful enemy the lord Burleigh, 1598. He was buried, ſays he, in Weſtminſter-Abbey, near the famous Geoffery Chaucer, as he had deſired. His obſequies were attended by the poets of that time, and others, who paid the laſt honours

nours to his memory. Several copies of verſes were thrown into his grave, with the pens that wrote them, and his monument was erected at the charge of Robert Devereux, the unfortunate earl of Eſſex.

This is the account, given by the editor of his works, of the death of Spenſer; and he is ſupported by the authority of Camden. But in a work of ſome reputation, we find a different relation delivered upon probable grounds. The ingenious Mr Drummond of Hawthornden, a noble wit of Scotland, had an intimate correſpondence with all the literati of his time who reſided at London, particularly the famous Ben Johnſon, who had ſo high an opinion of Mr Drummond's abilities, that he took a journey into Scotland in order to converſe with him, and ſtayed ſome time at his houſe at Hawthornden. After Ben Johnſon departed, Mr Drummond, careful to retain what paſſed between them, wrote down the heads of their converſation; which he publiſhed amongſt his poems and Hiſtory of the Five Jameſes, kings of Scotland. Amongſt other particulars there is this: "Ben Jonſon told me, that Spenſer's goods were robbed by the Iriſh in Deſmond's rebellion, his houſe and a little child of his burnt, and he and his wife hardly eſcaped; that he afterwards died in King-ſtreet, Dublin, by abſolute want of bread; and that he refuſed twenty pieces ſent him by the earl of Eſſex, and gave this anſwer to the perſon who brought them, "That he was ſure he had no time to ſpend them."

We have very few anecdotes of the private life of this great poet, and this muſt be a mortification to all lovers of the muſes, as he was the greateſt ornament of his profeſſion, in the age in which he lived. No writer ever found a nearer way to the heart, and his verſes have a peculiar happineſs of recommending the author to our friendſhip, as well as raiſing our admiration. One cannot read him without fancying oneſelf tranſported into fairy-land, and there converſing with

with the graces in the enchanted region. In elegance of thinking and fertility of imagination, few of our Engliſh authors have approached him, and no writers ever poſſeſſed equal power to awake the ſpirit of poetry in others. Cowley owns that he derived inſpiration from him: the celebrated Thomſon, the author of the Seaſons, juſtly eſteemed one of our beſt deſcriptive poets, uſed to ſay, that he formed himſelf upon Spenſer: and how cloſely he purſued his model, and how nobly he has imitated him, whoever reads his Caſtle of Indolence with taſte, will readily confeſs. Mr Addiſon, in his Characters of the Engliſh poets, addreſſed to Mr Sacheverel, thus ſpeaks of Spenſer:

" Old Spenſer next, warm'd with poetic rage,
In ancient tales amus'd a barbarous age;
An age, that yet uncultivate and rude,
Where'er the poet's fancy led, purſu'd
Thro' pathleſs fields, and unfrequented floods,
To dens of dragons, and enchanted woods.
But now the myſtic tale, that pleas'd of yore,
Can charm an underſtanding age no more;
The long-ſpun allegories fulſome grow,
While the dull moral lies too plain below.
We view well pleaſed at diſtance all the ſights
Of arms, and palfries, battles, fields, and fights,
And damſels in diſtreſs, and courteous knights.
But when we look too near, the ſhades decay,
And all the pleaſing landſcape fades away."

It is agreed on all hands, that the diſtreſſes of our author helped to ſhorten his days; and, indeed, when his extraordinary merit is conſidered, he had the hardeſt meaſure of almoſt any of our poets. It appears from different accounts, that he was of an amiable, ſweet diſpoſition, humane and generous in his nature. Beſides the Fairy Queen, and his Shepherd's Calendar, we find he had written many other pieces, moſt of which

which are loſt. Amongſt theſe, the moſt conſiderable were nine comedies, in imitation of the comedies of his admired Arioſto, inſcribed with the names of the nine muſes. The reſt which we find mentioned in his letters, and thoſe of his friends, are his Dying Pelican, his Pageants, Dudleyana, The Canticles paraphraſed, Eccleſiaſtes, Seven Pſalms, Houſe of our Lord, Sacrifice of a Sinner, Purgatory, A Seven Night's Slumber, the Court of Cupid, and Hell of Lovers. It is likewiſe ſaid he had written a treatiſe in proſe, called, the Engliſh Poet; as for the Epithalamium, Thameſis, and Dreams, both mentioned by himſelf in one of his letters, Mr Hughes thinks they are ſtill preſerved, though under different names. It appears from what is ſaid of the Dreams, by his friend Mr Hervey, that they were in imitation of Petrarch's Viſions.

The works of Spenſer will never periſh; though he has introduced unneceſſarily many obſolete terms into them, there is a flow of poetry, an elegance of ſentiment, a fund of imagination, and an enchanting enthuſiaſm, which will ſecure him the applauſes of poſterity, while any lovers of poetry remain. We find but little account of the family of Spenſer left behind him, only that in a few particulars of his life, prefixed to the laſt folio edition of his works, it is ſaid, that his great-grandſon, Hugolin Spenſer, after the reſtoration of King Charles II. was inveſted by the court of claims with ſo much of the lands as could be found to have been his anceſtor's. There is another remarkable paſſage, of which, ſays Hughes, I can give the reader much better aſſurance: that a perſon came over from Ireland, in king William's time, to ſolicit the ſame affair, and brought with him letters of recommendation, as a deſcendant of Spenſer. His name procured him a favourable reception, and he applied particularly to Mr Congreve, by whom he was generouſly recommended to the favour of the earl of Halifax, then at the head of the treaſury; by whoſe means he obtain-

ed his ſuit. This man was ſomewhat advanced in years, and might be the perſon before-mentioned, who had poſſibly recovered only ſome part of his eſtate at firſt, or had been diſturbed in the poſſeſſion of it. He could give no account of the works of his anceſtor, which are wanting, and which are therefore in all probability irrecoverably loſt. The following ſtanzas are ſaid to be thoſe with which Sir Philip Sidney was firſt ſtruck.

From him returning, ſad and comfortleſs,
As on the way together we did fare,
We met that villain (God from him me bleſs!)
That curſed wight, whom I eſcaped whylear,
A man of hell, that calls himſelf Deſpair;
Who firſt us greets, and after fair areeds
Of tidings ſtrange, and of adventures rare,
So creeping cloſe, as ſnake in hidden weeds,
Inquireth of our ſtates, and of our knightly deeds,
Which when he knew, and felt our feeble hearts
Embos'd with bole, and bitter biting grief,
Which love had lanced with his deadly darts,
With wounding words, and terms of foul reprief,
He pluck'd from us all hope of due relief,
That erſt us held in love of ling'ring life;
Then hopleſs, heartleſs, 'gan the cunning thief,
Perſuade us did, to ſtint all farther ſtrife,
To me he lent this rope, to him a ruſty knife.

The following is the Picture of the CAVE of DESPAIR.

The darkſome cave they enter, where they find,
That curſed man, low ſitting on the ground,
Muſing full ſadly in his ſullen mind;
His greaſy locks, long growing, and unbound,
Diſorder'd hung about his ſhoulders round,
And hid his face; thro' which his hollow eyne
Look'd deadly dull, and ſtared as aſtound;

His

His raw-bone cheeks, thro' penury and pine,
Were ſhrunk into his jaws, as he did never dine.

His garments nought, but many ragged clouts,
With thorns together pinn'd and patched was,
The which his naked ſides he wrapt abouts;
And him beſide, there lay upon the graſs
A dreary corſe, whoſe life away did paſs,
All wallowed in his own, yet lukewarm blood,
That from his wound yet welled afreſh alas;
In which a ruſty knife faſt fixed ſtood,
And made an open paſſage for the guſhing flood.

It would be an injury to Spenſer's memory to diſmiſs his life without a few remarks on that maſterly performance, which has placed him among the foremoſt of our poets. The work I mean is his allegorical poem of the Fairy Queen. Sir William Temple, in his Eſſay on Poetry, ſays, "That the religion of the Gentiles had been woven into the contexture of all the ancient poetry with an agreeable mixture, which made the moderns affect to give that of Chriſtianity a place in their poems; but the true religion was not found to become fictions ſo well as the falſe one had done, and all their attempts of this kind ſeemed rather to debaſe religion than heighten poetry. Spenſer endeavoured to ſupply this with morality, and to make inſtruction, inſtead of ſtory, the ſubject of an epic poem. His execution was excellent, and his flights of fancy very noble and high. But his deſign was poor; and his moral lay ſo bare, that it loſt the effect. It is true, the pill was gilded, but ſo thin, that the colour and the taſte were eaſily diſcovered."—Mr Thomas Rhymer aſſerts, that Spenſer may be reckoned the firſt of our heroic poets. "He had," ſays he, "a large ſpirit, a ſharp judgment, and a genius for heroic poetry, perhaps above any that ever wrote ſince Virgil; but our misfortune is, he wanted a true idea, and loſt himſelf

ſelf by following an unfaithful guide. Though beſides Homer and Virgil he had read Taſſo, yet he rather ſuffered himſelf to be miſled by Arioſto, with whom blindly rambling on marvels and adventures, he makes no conſcience of probability; all is fanciful and chimerical, without any uniformity, or without any foundation in truth; in a word, his poem is perfect Fairy-land." Thus far Sir William Temple, and Mr Rhymer; let us now attend to the opinion of a greater name, Mr Dryden, who in his dedication of his tranſlation of Juvenal, thus proceeds: "The Engliſh have only to boaſt of Spenſer and Milton in heroic poetry, who neither of them wanted either genius or learning to have been perfect poets, and yet both of them are liable to many cenſures; for there is no uniformity in the deſign of Spenſer; he aims at the accompliſhment of no one action; he raiſes up a hero for every one of his adventures, and endows each of them with ſome particular moral virtue, which renders them all equal, without ſubordination, or preference: every one is valiant in his own legend; only we muſt do him the juſtice to obſerve, that magnanimity, which is the character of prince Arthur, ſhines throughout the whole poem, and ſuccours the reſt when they are in diſtreſs. The original of every knight was then living in the court of queen Elizabeth, and he attributed to each of them that virtue which he though moſt conſpicuous in them; an ingenious piece of flattery, though it turned not much to his account. Had he lived to have finiſhed his poem in the remaining legends, it had certainly been more of a piece; but could not have been perfect, becauſe the model was not true. But prince Arthur, or his chief patron, Sir Philip Sidney, dying before him, deprived the poet both of means and ſpirit to accompliſh his deſign. For the reſt, his obſolete language, and ill choice of his ſtanzas, are faults but of the ſecond magnitude; for notwithſtanding the firſt, he is ſtill intelligible, at leaſt after a little practice: and,

for

for the laſt, he is more to be admired; that, labouring under ſuch diſadvantages, his verſes are ſo numerous, ſo various, and ſo harmonious, that only Virgil, whom he has profeſſedly imitated, hath ſurpaſſed him among the Romans; and only Waller among the Engliſh."

Mr Hughes juſtly obſerves, that the chief merit of this poem conſiſts in that ſurpriſing vein of fabulous invention which runs through it, and enriches it every where with imaginary deſcriptions, more than we meet with in any modern poem. The author ſeems to be poſſeſſed of a kind of poetical magic; and the figures he calls up to our view, riſe up ſo thick upon us, that we are at once pleaſed and diſtracted with the inexhauſtible variety of them; ſo that his faults may, in a manner, be imputed to his excellencies. His abundance betrays him into exceſs; and his judgment is overborne by the torrent of his imagination.

Upon the whole, Mr Warton ſeems to have given the moſt accurate, candid criticiſm on this celebrated poem, of all the writers on this delicate ſubject.

"If the Fairy Queen be deſtitute of that arrangement and œconomy which epic ſeverity requires, yet we ſcarcely regret the loſs of theſe, while their place is ſo amply ſupplied by ſomething which more powerfully attracts us; ſomething which engages the affections, the feelings of the heart, rather than the cold approbation of the head. If there be any poem, whoſe graces pleaſe, becauſe they are ſituated beyond the reach of art, and where the force and faculties of creative imagination delight, becauſe they are unaſſiſted and unreſtrained by thoſe of deliberate judgment, it is this: In reading Spenſer, if the critic is not ſatisfied, yet the reader is tranſported."

Spenſer's works were publiſhed in 6 vols. 12mo. by Mr John Hughes, with an account of his life and a gloſſary. Reprinted in 1750. Dr Birch publiſhed an edition of the Fairy Queen, 3 vols. in 4to. 1751. Three more editions of this poem were publiſhed in

1758. In 1734, Dr Jortin publiſhed remarks on Spenſer's poems in 8vo. And laſtly, Mr Warton publiſhed Obſervations on the Fairy Queen, which were ſo well received, that a ſecond edition was publiſhed in 1762. Theſe being the ſeveral authorities from which our memoirs of this celebrated poet are taken, it is needleſs to add any other.

THE LIFE OF

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE.

(A. D. 1564, to 1613.)

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, the immortal father of the Britiſh theatre, the glory of his age and of his country, was the ſon of Mr John Shakeſpeare, and was born at Stratford upon Avon in Warwickſhire, in April, 1564. In the public records of that town, the family from which he was deſcended, are mentioned as perſons of good figure and faſhion in that place, and of the rank of gentry. His father, who was a conſiderable dealer in wool, being encumbered with a large family of ten children, could afford to give his eldeſt ſon but a ſlender education. He had bred him at a free-ſchool, where he acquired what Latin he was maſter of; but the narrowneſs of his circumſtances, and the want of his aſſiſtance at home, forced his father to withdraw him from thence, and thereby prevented his receiving any farther advantage from ſcholaſtic inſtruction.

Upon his quitting the grammar-ſchool, he ſeems to have entirely devoted himſelf to that way of living which his father purſued; and, in order to ſettle in the world in a family manner, he thought fit to marry while he was yet very young. His wife was the daughter

ter of one Hatchway, ſaid to have been a ſubſtantial yeoman in the neighbourhood of Stratford.

In this kind of domeſtic obſcurity he continued for ſome time, till, by an unhappy inſtance of miſconduct, he was obliged to quit the place of his nativity, and take ſhelter in London; which fortunately proved the occaſion of diſplaying his ſublime genius for dramatic poetry. He had the misfortune to fall into ill company. Among theſe were ſome who made a frequent practice of deer-ſtealing, and who engaged him more than once in robbing a park that belonged to Sir Thomas Lucy, of Charlecot, near Stratford; for which he was proſecuted by that gentleman, as he thought, ſomewhat too ſeverely; and, in order to revenge himſelf for this ſuppoſed ill uſage, he made a ballad upon him; and this, probably the firſt eſſay of his poetry, is loſt; but it is ſaid to have been ſo very bitter, that it redoubled the proſecution againſt him to that degree, that he was obliged to leave his buſineſs and family for ſome time, and to ſeek for employment in London.

This Sir Thomas Lucy was, it is ſaid, afterwards ridiculed by Shakeſpeare, under the well-known character of Juſtice Shallow. It was at this time, and upon this accident, that he is ſaid to have made his firſt acquaintance in the play-houſe.

Concerning Shakeſpeare's firſt mean occupation at the playhouſe, the following particulars have been ſtated. When he came to London he was without money and friends; and, being a ſtranger, he knew not to whom to apply, nor by what means to ſupport himſelf. At that time, coaches not being in uſe, as gentlemen were accuſtomed to ride on horſeback to the playhouſe, Shakeſpeare, it is ſaid, driven to the laſt neceſſity, attended at the door, and picked up a little money by taking care of the gentlemen's horſes who came to the play. He became eminent, even in that humble ſtation, and was taken notice of for his diligence and ſkill in it. He had quickly more buſineſs than

than he himſelf could manage, and at laſt hired boys under him, who were known by the name of Shakeſpeare's boys. And though he ſoon found means of acting in his proper ſphere, that of a dramatic writer, yet as long as the cuſtom of going to the theatre on horſeback continued, the waiters who held the horſes retained the appellation of Shakeſpeare's boys.

Some of the players accidentally converſing with him, found him poſſeſſed of an admirable fund of wit, and talents adapted to the ſtage, and aſtoniſhed at this unexpected diſcovery, they introduced and recommended him to the company, into whoſe ſociety he was admitted, but in a very humble walk, and upon low terms. He did not, however, long remain ſo, for he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf, if not as an extraordinary actor, at leaſt as a fine writer. His name, is printed, as the cuſtom was in thoſe times, amongſt thoſe of the other players, before ſome old plays, but without any particular account of what caſt of characters he uſed to play; and after the moſt diligent reſearches, it appears, that the moſt conſiderable part he ever performed, was the Ghoſt, in his own hiſtorical tragedy of Hamlet.

It would undoubtedly afford great ſatisfaction to the curious to be able to aſcertain, from proper authorities, what was the firſt poetical eſſay of the immenſe genius of Shakeſpeare, that it might be traced through its gradual progreſſions to that ſummit of perfection it at length attained. But here likewiſe we are left in the dark.

The higheſt date which Rowe has been able to trace, is Romeo and Juliet, 1597, when the author was thirty-three years old; and Richard II. and III. the next year. But whatever the particular times of his writings were, the people of the age he lived in, who began to grow wonderfully fond of diverſions of this kind, could not but be highly pleaſed to ſee a genius ariſe amongſt them, of ſo pleaſurable, ſo rich, and ſo abundant a

vein,

vein, capable of furniſhing variety of their favourite entertainments.

Beſides the advantage which Shakeſpeare had over all men in the article of wit, he was of a ſweet, gentle, amiable diſpoſition, and was a moſt agreeable companion; by which he endeared himſelf to all who knew him, both as a friend and as a poet; ſo that he was introduced into the beſt company, and converſed with the fineſt characters of his time.

Queen Elizabeth had ſeveral of his plays acted before her; and ſhe was too quick a diſcerner of merit, to ſuffer Shakeſpeare's to eſcape her notice. It is aſſuredly that maiden princeſs whom he thus deſcribes

——— A fair veſtal, throned by the weſt.
Midſummer Night's Dream.

Queen Elizabeth was ſo well pleaſed with the admirable character of Falſtaff, in the two parts of Henry IV. that ſhe commanded him to continue it in one play more, and to make him in love. This is ſaid to have been the occaſion of his writing the Merry Wives of Windſor.

It appears by the epilogue to Henry IV. that the part of Falſtaff was written originally under the name of Oldcaſtle. Some of that family being then remaining, the queen was pleaſed to command him to alter it; upon which he made uſe of the name of Falſtaff. The firſt offence was indeed avoided; but I am not ſure whether the author be not ſomewhat to blame in his ſecond choice, ſince it is certain that Sir John Falſtaff, or Faſtolf, who was a knight of the garter, and a lieutenant-general, was a perſon of diſtinguiſhed merit in the wars againſt France, in the reigns of Henry V. and Henry VI.

Beſides the royal patronage, Shakeſpeare received many great and uncommon favours from the generous earl of Southampton, ſo famous in hiſtory for his friendſhip to the unfortunate earl of Eſſex. It was to that

that nobleman he dedicated his poem of Venus and Adonis; and it is reported that his lordſhip gave our author a thouſand pounds to enable him to accompliſh a purchaſe he heard he had a mind to make; a bounty at that time, very conſiderable, as money was then valued. There are few inſtances of ſuch liberality in our times.

We have no clear account when Shakeſpeare quitted the ſtage for a private life. Some have thought that Spenſer's Thalia, in the Tears of the Muſes, where ſhe laments the loſs of her Willy, in the comic ſcene, relates to our poet's abandoning the ſtage: but it is well known that Spenſer himſelf died in the year 1598; and five years after this, we find Shakeſpeare's name among the actors in Ben Jonſon's Sejanus, which firſt made its appearance in 1603; nor could he then have any thoughts of retiring, ſince, that very year, a licence, by king James I. was granted to him, with Burbage, Philips, Hemmings, Condel, &c. to exerciſe the art of playing comedies, tragedies, &c. as well at their uſual houſe, called the Globe, on the Bank-ſide, Southwark, as in any other part of the kingdom, during his majeſty's pleaſure. This licence is printed in Rymer's Fœdera. Beſides, it is certain, that Shakeſpeare did not write Macbeth till after the acceſſion of king James I. which he did as a compliment to him, as he there embraces the doctrine of witches; of which his majeſty was ſo fond, that he wrote a book called Dæmonalogy, in defence of their exiſtence; and likewiſe, at that time, began to touch for the evil; which Shakeſpeare has taken notice of, and paid him a fine-turned compliment upon it. So that the paſſage in Thalia, if it relates at all to Shakeſpeare, muſt hint at ſome occaſional receſs which he made for a time.

What particular friendſhips he contracted with private men, we cannot at this time know, more than that every one that had a true taſte for merit, and could diſtinguiſh men, had generally a juſt value and eſteem

eſteem for him. His uncommon candour and good-nature muſt certainly have inclined all the gentler part of the world to love him, as the power of his wit obliged the men of the moſt refined knowledge and polite learning to admire him.

His acquaintance with Ben Jonſon began with a remarkable piece of humanity and good-nature. Mr Jonſon, who was, at that time, altogether unknown to the world, had offered one of his plays to the ſtage, in order to have it acted; and the perſon into whoſe hands it was put, after having turned it careleſsly over, was juſt upon returning it to him, with an ill-natured anſwer, that it would be of no ſervice to their company; when Shakeſpeare luckily caſt his eye upon it, and found ſomething of ſuch merit in it, as to engage him firſt to read it through, and afterwards to recommend Jonſon and his writings to the public.

The latter part of our author's life was ſpent in eaſe and retirement. He had the good fortune to acquire a decent competency; and he reſided ſome years before his death at his native town, Stratford upon Avon, in a handſome houſe he had purchaſed, to which he gave the name of *New Place*. He had likewiſe the good fortune to ſave it from the flames, when a dreadful fire conſumed the greateſt part of the town in 1614. His pleaſant wit and good-nature engaged him the acquaintance, and intitled him to the friendſhip of the gentlemen of the neighbourhood. It is ſtill remembered in that country, that he had a particular intimacy with one Mr Combe, an old gentleman, noted for his wealth, avarice, and uſury. It happened that, in a pleaſant converſation amongſt their common friends, Mr Combe merrily told Shakeſpeare, that he fancied he intended to write his epitaph, if he happened to out-live him; and ſince he could not know what might be ſaid of him when dead, he deſired it might be done immediately; upon which Shakeſpeare gave him theſe lines:

Ten

Ten in the hundred lies here ingraved,
'Tis an hundred to ten his ſoul is not ſaved:
If any man aſk, who lies in this tomb?
Oh! oh! quoth the devil, 'tis my John-a-Combe.

But the ſharpneſs of the ſatire is ſaid to have ſtung the man ſo ſeverely, that he never forgave it.

In the beginning of the year 1616, Shakeſpeare made his will, in which he left 150l. to his eldeſt daughter, Judith, to be paid to her within twelve-months after his deceaſe; and 150l. more to be paid to her three years after the date of his will. But he appointed his youngeſt daughter, who was his favourite, and her huſband Dr John Hall, a phyſician of great repute in the county, joint-executors; bequeathing to them the beſt part of his eſtate. He alſo left legacies to his ſiſter Joan, and her three ſons; ten pounds to the poor of Stratford; his ſword to Mr Thomas Combe, and rings to his old aſſociates in the play-houſe, Hemmings, Burbage, and Condel.

He died in April of the ſame year, and was interred on the north-ſide of the chancel, in the great church of Stratford, where a handſome monument was erected for him, on which the following diſtich is inſcribed:

Judicio Pylium, genio Socratem, arte Maronem,
Terra tegit, populus mœret, Olympus habet.

And, on the grave-ſtone, in the pavement, underneath, are theſe lines:

Good friend, for Jeſus' ſake forbear
To dig the duſt incloſed here.
Bleſt be the man that ſpares theſe ſtones,
And curs'd be he that moves my bones.

In the year 1740, a very noble monument was erected to the memory of our immortal bard, in Weſtminſter-Abbey, at the public expence. For this purpoſe, his tragedy of Julius Cæſar was performed at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane, on the 28th of April, 1738.

1738. The tickets for admiſſion were fixed at an extraordinary price. The earl of Burlington, Dr Mead, Mr Pope, and Mr Fleetwood, patentee of the theatre, were appointed truſtees upon this occaſion, and under their direction the monument was deſigned by Mr Kent, and executed by Scheemakers, an eminent ſtatuary.

The figure of Shakeſpeare is a whole length, in white marble, dreſſed in the habit of his time; reclining on the right arm, which is ſupported by a pedeſtal, from the top of which iſſues a ſcroll, having the following lines of his TEMPEST inſcribed thereon:

The cloud-capt towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The ſolemn temples, the great globe itſelf;
Yea, all which it inhabit ſhall diſſolve,
And, like the baſeleſs fabric of a viſion,
Leave not a wreck behind.

It is to be lamented, that ſo few incidents of the life of Shakeſpeare have been handed down to poſterity; but this may, in ſome degree, be accounted for, from the little viciſſitude to which it was ſubject. A ſingle accident carried him to London; and here the conſtant exertion of his great abilities conducted him, by an eaſy regular tranſition, from indigence and obſcurity to competency and fame. His ſound judgment ſuggeſted to him the felicity of retirement, as ſoon as he had accompliſhed his moderate wiſhes; and here the ſcene of active life cloſing, no extraordinary occurrences happened to ſwell the annals of his peaceful days.

Shakeſpeare's widow ſurvived him ſeven years, and his family became extinct in the third generation after him; for his eldeſt daughter married Mr Thomas Quincey, by whom ſhe had three ſons, but they died without iſſue.

As for Mrs Hall, ſhe left one child, a daughter, who was married to Thomas Naſh, Eſq. and afterwards to

Ten in the hundred lies here ingraved,
'Tis an hundred to ten his ſoul is not ſaved:
If any man aſk, who lies in this tomb?
Oh! oh! quoth the devil, 'tis my John-a-Combe.

But the ſharpneſs of the ſatire is ſaid to have ſtung the man ſo ſeverely, that he never forgave it.

In the beginning of the year 1616, Shakeſpeare made his will, in which he left 150l. to his eldeſt daughter, Judith, to be paid to her within twelve-months after his deceaſe; and 150l. more to be paid to her three years after the date of his will. But he appointed his youngeſt daughter, who was his favourite, and her huſband Dr John Hall, a phyſician of great repute in the county, joint-executors; bequeathing to them the beſt part of his eſtate. He alſo left legacies to his ſiſter Joan, and her three ſons; ten pounds to the poor of Stratford; his ſword to Mr Thomas Combe, and rings to his old aſſociates in the play-houſe, Hemmings, Burbage, and Condel.

He died in April of the ſame year, and was interred on the north-ſide of the chancel, in the great church of Stratford, where a handſome monument was erected for him, on which the following diſtich is inſcribed:

Judicio Pylium, genio Socratem, arte Maronem,
Terra tegit, populus mœret, Olympus habet.

And, on the grave-ſtone, in the pavement, underneath, are theſe lines:

Good friend, for Jeſus' ſake forbear
To dig the duſt incloſed here.
Bleſt be the man that ſpares theſe ſtones,
And curs'd be he that moves my bones.

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Sir John Bernard, of Abington; but ſhe likewiſe died without iſſue.

Much diſpute has ariſen upon the ſubject of Shakeſpeare's learning. Dr Johnſon ſays, 'It is moſt likely 'that he had learned Latin ſufficiently to make him 'acquainted with conſtruction, that he never advanced 'to an eaſy peruſal of the Roman authors. Concern-'ing his ſkill in modern languages, I can find no ſuf-'ficient ground of determination; but as no imitations 'of French or Italian authors have been diſcovered, 'though the Italian poetry was then in high eſteem, I 'am inclined to believe, that he read little more than 'Engliſh, and choſe for his fables only ſuch tales as he 'found tranſlated.—There is, however, proof enough 'that he was a very diligent reader, nor was our lan-'guage then ſo indigent of books, but that he might 'very liberally indulge his curioſity without excurſion 'into foreign literature. Many of the Roman authors 'were tranſlated, and ſome of the Greek; the Refor-'mation had filled the kingdom with theological learn-'ing; moſt of the topics of human diſquiſition had 'found Engliſh writers; and poetry had been cultiva-'ted, not only with diligence, but ſucceſs. This was 'a ſtock of knowledge ſufficient for a mind ſo capable 'of appropriating and improving it.' It has, however, been contended, by other writers, that Shakeſpeare was not unſkilled in the learned languages, and that he was acquainted with the Greek, as well as with the Roman claſſics: but Dr Farmer, in his "Eſſay on the "Learning of Shakeſpeare," has accounted, in a very ſatisfactory manner, for the frequent alluſions to the facts and fables of antiquity, which we meet with in the writings of Shakeſpeare, without leaving any grounds for the ſuppoſition of his having read the Greek and Roman writers in their original languages. He particularly ſpecifies the old Engliſh tranſlations of various claſſical authors, which were then extant, and with which Shakeſpeare was evidently converſant; and,

upon

upon the whole, Dr Farmer concludes, that the ſtudies of Shakeſpeare were certainly confined to nature, and his own language.

On the merit and genius of Shakeſpeare the following obſervations are made by Mr Pope. "If ever any author deſerved the name of an original, it was Shakeſpeare. Homer himſelf drew not his art ſo immediately from the fountains of nature, it proceeded through Egyptian ſtrainers and channels, and came to him not without ſome tincture of the learning, or ſome caſt of the models, of thoſe before him. The poetry of Shakeſpeare was inſpiration indeed: he is not ſo much an imitator, as an inſtrument, of nature; and 'tis not ſo juſt to ſay that he ſpeaks from her, as that ſhe ſpeaks through him. His characters are ſo much nature itſelf, that 'tis a ſort of injury to call them by ſo diſtant a name as copies of her. Thoſe of other poets have a conſtant reſemblance, which ſhews that they received them from one another, and were but multipliers of the ſame image: each picture, like a mock-rainbow, is but the reflexion of a reflexion. But every ſingle character in Shakeſpeare is as much an individual, as thoſe in life itſelf; it is as impoſſible to find any two alike; and ſuch as from their relation or affinity in any reſpect appear moſt to be twins, will upon compariſon be found remarkably diſtinct."

"Shakeſpeare," ſays Dr Johnſon, "is above all writers, at leaſt above all modern writers, the Poet of Nature; the poet that holds out to his readers a faithful mirrour of manners and of life. His characters are not modified by the cuſtoms of particular places, unpractiſed by the reſt of the world; by the peculiarities of ſtudies or profeſſions, which can operate but upon ſmall numbers; or by the accidents of tranſient faſhions, or temporary opinions. They are the genuine progeny of common humanity, ſuch as the world will always ſupply, and obſervation always find. His perſons act and ſpeak by the influence of thoſe general paſſions and

principles by which all minds are agitated, and the whole ſyſtem of life is continued in motion. In the writings of other poets a character is too often an individual; in thoſe of Shakeſpeare it is commonly a ſpecies. It is from this wide extenſion of deſign, that ſo much inſtruction is derived. It is this which fills the plays of Shakeſpeare with practical axioms and domeſtic wiſdom. It was ſaid of Euripides, that every verſe was a precept; and it may be ſaid of Shakeſpeare, that from his works may be collected a ſyſtem of civil and œconomical prudence."

The works of Shakeſpeare have paſſed through many editions, and been elucidated by many commentators. Seven years after his death, his plays were collected and publiſhed in 1623, in folio, by two of his friends in the company of comedians, Heminge and Condel. They were re-printed in 1632, 1664, and 1685; and in 1714, an edition was publiſhed in 8vo. by Mr Nicholas Rowe. A new edition was publiſhed by Mr Pope in 4to. in 1721; and another by Mr Theobald in 8vo. in 1733, and which was afterwards re-printed in ten volumes, 12mo.

In 1744, Sir Thomas Hanmer publiſhed, at Oxford, a pompous edition, in ſix volumes, 4to; and in 1747, Mr Warburton, afterwards biſhop of Glouceſter, publiſhed another edition in eight volumes, 8vo. This was ſucceeded by ſeveral other editions, particularly that of Dr Johnſon, in eight volumes, 8vo. in 1765; two other editions, by Dr Johnſon and Mr Stevens in conjunction, in ten volumes, 8vo.; and another improved edition, alſo in ten volumes, 8vo. by Mr Reed of Staples Inn, in 1785. Propoſals have likewiſe lately been publiſhed, by Mr Alderman Boydell, Mr Joſiah Boydell, and Mr George Nicoll, for a very magnificent edition of the plays of Shakeſpeare, which is to be in nine volumes, large 4to. and adorned with prints, executed after pictures painted for the purpoſe by the moſt eminent Engliſh artiſts. The paintings are afterwards

wards to be preſerved in a gallery, which is to be denominated THE SHAKESPEARE GALLERY.

We have only to add the following liſt of the dramatic works publiſhed under our author's name, diſtinguiſhing with an aſteriſm thoſe which the critics, with great reaſon, reject, as pieces improperly aſcribed to him.

1. The Tempeſt, a Comedy, acted in the Black Fryars, with applauſe.

2. The two Gentlemen of Verona, a Comedy, written at the command of Queen Elizabeth.

3. The Firſt and Second Parts of King Henry IV.

4. The Merry Wives of Windſor, a Comedy.

5. Meaſure for Meaſure, a Comedy; the plot of this play is taken from a novel of Cynthio Giraldi.

6. The Comedy of Errors, founded upon the Mænechmi of Plautus.

7. Much-a-do About Nothing, a Comedy; for the plot ſee Arioſto's Orlando Furioſo.

8. Love's Labour Loſt, a Comedy.

9. Midſummer Night's Dream, a Comedy.

10. The Merchant of Venice, a Tragi-Comedy.

11. As You Like It, a Comedy.

12. The Taming of a Shrew, a Comedy.

13. All's Well that Ends Well. The ſtory from one of the novels of Boccace.

14. The Twelfth-Night; or, What You Will, a Comedy.

15. The Winter's Tale, a Tragi-Comedy; the plot of this play is borrowed from Robert Green's novel of Doraſtus and Faunia.

16. The Life and Death of King John, an hiſtorical play.

17. The Life and Death of King Richard II. an hiſtorical play.

18. The Life of King Henry V. an hiſtorical play.

19. The Firſt Part of King Henry VI. an hiſtorical play.

20. The

20. The Second Part of King Henry VI. with the death of the good Duke Humphrey.

21. The Third Part of Henry VI. with the death of the Duke of York. Theſe three plays contain the whole reign of that unhappy monarch.

22. The Life and Death of Richard III. with the Landing of the Earl of Richmond, and the Battle of Boſworth-field.

23. The Hiſtory of the Life of King Henry VIII. This piece cloſes the hiſtorical drama of our author with reſpect to his native country.

24. Troilus and Creſſida, a Tragedy; the plot from Chaucer.

25. Coriolanus, a Tragedy; the ſtory from the Roman Hiſtory.

26. Titus Andronicus, a Tragedy.

27. Romeo and Juliet, founded on a real Tragedy, that happened about the beginning of the fourteenth century. The ſtory, with all its circumſtances, is related by Girolame Corte, in his Hiſtory of Verona. And our author has varied very little either in his names, characters, or other circumſtances, from truth and matter of fact; indeed this was his general rule, with reſpect to his hiſtorical plays, which makes them the more valuable.

28. Timon of Athens, a Tragedy; the plot from Lucian's Dialogues.

29. Julius Cæſar, a Tragedy.

30. The Tragedy of Macbeth; the plot from Buchanan, and other Scotch hiſtorians.

31. Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, a Tragedy.

32. King Lear, a Tragedy; the plot from Geoffrey of Monmouth.

33. Othello, the Moor of Venice, a Tragedy; the plot from Cynthio's Novels.

34. Anthony and Cleopatra; the ſtory from Plutarch.

35. Cymbeline, a Tragedy; the plot partly from the

the Decameron of Boccace, and partly from the ancient traditions of Britiſh hiſtory.

* 36. Pericles, Prince of Tyre; an hiſtorical play.

* 37. The London Prodigal, a Comedy.

* 38. The Life and Death of Thomas Lord Cromwell, the favourite of King Henry VIII.

* 39. The Hiſtory of Sir John Oldcaſtle, the good Lord Cobham, a Tragedy. See Fox's Book of Martyrs.

* 40. The Puritan; or, the Widow of Watling-ſtreet, a Comedy.

* 41. A Yorkſhire Tragedy: this is rather an Interlude, than a Tragedy, being very ſhort, and not divided into acts.

* 42. The Tragedy of Locrine, the eldeſt Son of King Brutus. See the ſtory in Milton's Hiſtory of England.

END OF VOLUME SECOND.

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